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SOCIALIST POLICY.

Millerand's Speech at Opening of French Chamber.

A Political Party Should Declare Where it Stands—Socialist Aims—Calumnies Thrust Back—Anti-Semitism Exposed Need of Principle—Socialist Growth—Treasonable Attitude of Present "Republicans"—Necessary Reforms—Attitude of the Socialists.

[Jeannette, Pa., July 11.—The speech by which Comrade Millerand announced in the French Chamber of Deputies the attitude, policy and line of conduct of the French Socialist Labor party will surely interest the readers of THE PEOPLE. Here it is.—CLASS CONSCIOUS.]

In giving notice, at the first session, of our intention to interpellate the President of the Council on the general policy we only submit to the exigencies of Parliamentary law which ties us.

From the Cabinet, already amputated of two members, and getting ready to undergo other amputations more or less voluntarily—(Laughs and applause on the extreme left and the left)—I have nothing to ask. Anyhow, it would seem to me slightly puerile to interrogate the Meline Cabinet on its general policy: the Parliament and the country knows it only too well. (Applause on the extreme left, the left, and a few benches of the right.)

I am particularly happy that I need not ask it any question, not knowing which of the two governments I should interpellate: the one that is on the scene or the one behind the scene. (Laughs and applauses on the same benches.)

It is then not to the Cabinet, it is above it, it is to the Chamber that I want to speak.

THE THOUGHT OF THE COUNTRY.

No one has any right to interpret the thought of the country except you, gentlemen, who have received the mandate to execute its sovereign will. The hour has come to express and to release that will.

A first indication seems to have been furnished: the circumstances and comments which have accompanied it and have given it the character and the proceedings of a combat of parties. I mean the coalition of the Right and moderate Republicans—(Applause at the extreme left)—who, united to govern in the last two years of unprecedented legislation, have been united again yesterday to give a President to this Assembly.

Is this manifestation an end or a beginning? Having obtained satisfaction, thanks to the co-operation of the Right, will the Moderates go back to their allies of yesterday in order to take leave, or must we see there the prelude or the token of a new lease? We will know it in a few hours. We have thought that in order that the country should know the policy which was to be followed by the Chamber, it was necessary that each party publicly announce its position at this tribune, and state to what policy it will give its co-operation and on what conditions. (Applause on the same benches.) It is this I have come to do on this tribune, in the name of my Socialist friends and in my own.

THE DUTY OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The ambition of the Socialist party is to be at the same time a party of combat and a party of doctrine. In front of the present social regime, Socialism sets up the ideal of future society, where order and harmony will succeed that of injustice and anarchy—(Applause on the same benches)—of which the members of the present society are the spectators and, for the greatest part, the victims.

This duty, that the party imposes on itself, to set up the new ideal, imposes on it at the same time the obligation to expound and love that ideal.

We have been charged with narrow and obstinate sectarianism. Nothing is more untrue. So far from being the slaves of preconceived notions, we force ourselves always to be the docile servants of fact. All our ambition is to prepare and to mitigate the inevitable transition of the society of to-day to that of to-morrow. (New applause on the same benches.)

We appeal to all the forces of action, of sentiment, of dream, we want to stimulate the initiatives, enlarge the intelligences. We do not confine ourselves in an evangel nor in a dogma.

The incomparable strength of the Socialist party in the whole world is not so much because it brings the solution of the social problem, but because it dares see it—(new applause on the same benches)—and because it looks it in the face, without wishing to avoid or to elude it; the party has not hesitated to tackle, in front, the problem of property, and it has had the audacity to unchain all the angers and calumnies of its foe.

STUPID CALUMNIES.

They have tried to convince the small proprietors that we meditate to tear from them their modest property; and, with singular irony, those that hold such language are precisely the great financiers, the great lords of the modern financial, industrial and commercial aristocracy. At the moment even when they emit those complaints in favor of the small holder, they themselves live only on condition that they exploit and ruin him. (New applause.)

But they do not seem satisfied with that equivocation to which we will never cease to answer by the exposé of our doctrine. When the conditions of modern life imply for all an international understanding, and because the Labor party claims the same right of universal understanding that the cosmopolitan financiers openly practice—(applause on the same benches)—they have charged us, good Frenchmen as we are, with not being patriots; and we have seen rise against us the "Nationalist" party. Patriotic sentiments are not the monopoly of any party; it is to insult the people most cruelly to pretend to transform such sentiments into an electoral springboard. (Interrogations on diverse benches.)

ANTI-SEMITISM.

But it is not enough for the Socialist party to defend itself against calumnies intended to misrepresent its intentions, to misconstrue its ideas. It must also prevent all confusion between the doctrines that the party professes and those of other parties, which seem at certain moments to speak the same language.

If anti-Semitism pretends to embrace, in its proscription even the Jewish proletarians—as unhappy as their other brothers in misery—guilty only of belonging to a race that certain doctors want to condemn en masse in the name of I do not know what religious or scientific doctrine;—if it wants to embrace in the same proscription rich and poor, the guilty and the innocent, I then defy it to set up its integral doctrine before a people that has never ceased for a century to pursue with passionate and generous effort the principle of the equality of all citizens before the law. (Great applause on the Extreme Left and on diverse benches of the Left.)

And, if unfaithful to the promises of its title, anti-Semitism limits itself to prosecute the great Jewish stock jobbers, permit me to ask by what right it limits the field of restitution—(great applause on the Left)—and why its justice would thus create categories. (Very well! Very well! on the same benches and Center.)

Besides, if there are among the members of that new and composite group a few able——

M. Milleroye—They are all Frenchmen.

Millerand—And we also. If there are among them a few able men who flatter themselves with the hope of confining within the limits traced by themselves all the animosities that they expect to unchain, they are mistaken. By exciting the masses to inquire into the origin of the Jewish fortunes, they will excite curiosities that will pass to the examination of other fortunes. (Very well! Very well! on a great number of benches.)

This is why both from the anti-Semite group and the Catholic group of workingmen daily more numerous recruits come to us; that is why Socialism can await with calmness a victory that cannot escape it if it maintains its ideal of justice and solidarity.

FIDELITY TO PRINCIPLES.

To remain faithful to principles is a condition of life and development to all parties. What is true for the Socialist party is also true of the Republican party. And thus is found judged and condemned the policy followed since two years, and to which the name of Mr. Meline is indissolubly attached. (Very well! Very well! on the Extreme Left and Left.)

This is the first time in twenty years, since the 16th of May—(Very well! Very well! on the same benches)—that the country has seen the reconstitution of an organized disciplined "Catholic party," having its staff, acting under the authority of concordats and clergy, with the approbation of and for the government. (Applause on the Left.)

When the verification of powers will have come you will have to examine the details of this story, and may be you will judge it necessary to inform yourselves by inquiring into the organization and the action of the clergy during the electoral period. (Very well! Very well! on the Extreme Left and diverse benches on the Left.) I shall limit myself now to recall facts of which there are, on these benches, too many witnesses to be denied.

GROWTH OF SOCIALISM.

But what has been the decisive reason of that policy which has united during two years the Reactionaries and the Moderate Republicans? Mr. Meline told his friends: "There should be no hesitation. Socialism is the enemy. We must intercept its road. In order to do so, we must unite all forces, whether from the Center or from the Right, and such an alliance will be justified."

What has happened? Before posting the speech of our friend Viviani, they had posted two others, notably Mr. Deschanel's speech, in which he addressed the peasants of France in affected terms. Has not the peasant read the speech of Mr. Deschanel as well as the one of Mr. Meline? Has he been touched by either? I do not know; but the morrow of the election one of your papers, the "Journal des Debats," called your attention to the growth of Socialism in the rural districts.

Without doubt, we sustained losses of which I recognize all the extent—(Very well! Very well! on the Extreme Left)—but if we consider the general results we see that the Socialist party re-enters the Chamber with a greater number of Deputies, and it can be proven that the number of Socialist votes has increased in the country. (Applause on the same benches.)

THE CONCENTRATION.

Lately we have seen reappear in the lobby an old acquaintance who, we believed, had disappeared, "Concentration." (Laughter.) But, before realizing "Concentration," you must define it. No party can govern without concentration.

During six months Mr. Bourgeois has governed by concentrating all the elements of the Left. During two years Mr. Meline has governed by concentrating all the elements of the Right. But the new concentration pretends to gov-

(Continued on Page 4.)

TOWARDS THE 100,000.

Socialist Labor Party Convention of Colorado.

DENVER, Colo., July 6—On the 4th instant, the convention of the Socialist Labor party met in this city at S. L. P. headquarters. It nominated the following

TICKET;

For Governor,
NIXON ELLIOTT,
of Pueblo.

For Lieutenant Governor,
N. H. WELLING,
of Florence.

For Secretary of State,
THOMAS C. DAVIS,
of Rockvale.

For State Treasurer,
JOHN P. MEYER,
of Pueblo.

For Auditor,
C. MILLER,
of Denver.

For Attorney General,
F. W. BODTKER,
of Denver.

For Superintendent Public Instruction,
J. F. EVERETT,
of La Junta.

For Congressman, First District,
N. L. GRIEST.

And it adopted the following

DECLARATIONS:

The Socialist Labor of Colorado, in convention assembled, re-affirms its allegiance to the Socialist Labor party of the United States, and endorses the platform adopted at the last national convention.

We furthermore re-affirm the principles of international Socialism.

WHEREAS, The development of capitalism has in Colorado, as everywhere else, produced the conditions which enable the capitalist owners of the means of production and distribution to rob the workers, and has reduced them to a state of abject slavery; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we call upon the wage workers of Colorado to support the Socialist Labor party to the end that the present inhuman system may be abolished and a co-operative commonwealth instituted.

RESOLVED, That under capitalism the condition of the wage working classes will not be improved by a silver standard, a gold standard, a bimetallic standard, nor any other money standard that may be adopted.

WHEREAS, The present war between the United States and Spain is the result of capitalism and is carried on for the sole purpose of extending the market for the American capitalist class under the guise of patriotism; therefore be it

RESOLVED, That we denounce war as being unnecessary and harmful to the working class of this country as well as that of Cuba, Spain and all other countries. We further maintain that as the workers have to do the fighting and get killed, while the capitalists stay at home and live in luxury, that the capitalist class should be taxed to the utmost limit for the maintenance of the families of the soldiers.

We maintain that the acquisition of more territory by force of arms or otherwise will bring the American workers into greater competition with workers whose standard of living is far below our own, and benefit only the capitalist class by largely increased profits. We further call attention to the fact that this war will be used as a pretext by the capitalist class to increase the standing army, that workingmen struggling for better conditions may be more effectually suppressed.

We also demand the repeal of all vagrancy laws and demand that persons without other employment be given work at fair wages by the State, counties or municipalities on public works regardless of the additional taxation, if any, which such action may involve.

RESOLVED, That we demand the repeal of the present infamous laws for the collection of debts.

RESOLVED, That we demand a new charter for Denver that will confer home rule upon the citizens, making all offices elective and giving to the people of Denver the right to enact their own laws by means of direct legislation.

Finally it adopted the following

PRESS RESOLUTION:

The Socialist Labor party of Colorado, in convention assembled, recommends to the members of the party in the State that every effort be put forth to secure subscribers for the party organs, THE PEOPLE, "New Charter," Vorwaerts," "Abendblatt" and others. It further requests all members of the party to cease securing subscriptions for the "Appeal to Reason," a pseudo-Socialist paper, published and edited at Girard, Kansas, by J. A. Wayland. We maintain that the attitude of the "Appeal to Reason," in attacking the Socialist Labor party and lending its aid to the new Debs party, proves the necessity of adhering more closely to the clear cut, class-conscious tactics of the Socialist Labor party.

Denver was chosen the seat of the State Committee for the ensuing year.

[The Press Committee that drafted the above "Press Resolution" did not do full justice to the versatility of the "Appeal to Reason." It omitted to enumerate, among the political parties, to which that "Teacher of Socialism" is moved to "lend its aid" also the Kansas fusion party of Populists and Democrats.—ED. THE PEOPLE.]

St. Paul, Minn.

Comrade Juergen Hertz, 482 Blair street, St. Paul, Minn., has been elected agent for THE PEOPLE.

TAKE NOTICE.

Comrades In Canada Making Valuable Experience.

LONDON, Ont., July 7—Canadian readers of THE PEOPLE (also exchanges that may be in occasional receipt of the publications referred to below) will please note the following:

From a non-union printing office in London, Ontario, there is published weekly a paper styled the "Canadian Searchlight." This sheet is the organ of a concern called "Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth; and this supposed organization has for its secretary a defaulted ex-treasurer of a religious organization.

In view of the dishonest policy being pursued by the London end of the concern, known also as the "C. C. C.," it is desirable that all true friends of the Socialist movement in Canada should distinctly understand that the "Canadian Searchlight" is in no way connected with, or representative of, the principles of international Socialism, or of the Socialist Labor party of Canada. Neither is the "Canadian Searchlight" recognized as a supporter of the trades union principle, either "pure and simple," or "new and progressive," as will be found from the absence of any label on its pages, and is also established by an article on the "Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth," to be found on file in the official organ of the London (Ont.) Trades and Labor Council for January, 1898.

The "C. C. C." and the "Canadian Searchlight" are engineered by the same individuals. Their chief "industry" has been to confuse Canadian readers on the principles of Socialism, and to promote divisional factors in the early stage of the development of a Canadian Socialist organization.

The "Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth" is the contribution of the promoters of the "Canadian Searchlight" to that nauseous mass of fakirisms that have perennially disgusted onlookers by their frauds and failures, and deceived novices in "Socialism" as to the aims, principles, and tactics of the international Socialist party.

The "Canadian Searchlight" is endeavoring to represent itself as the organ of a Socialist party in Canada in line with international Socialism, and, while "hashing" up news of our party successes in other countries, carefully abstains from any instruction to its readers regarding the existence and steady progress of the Canadian Socialist Labor party, which is the only Socialist organization in Canada politically organized in the Dominion in accord with international Socialism. With the latter organization in existence and controlled entirely by an English-speaking Canadian membership, there is no possible excuse for the inauguration of the movement engineered by the non-trade union organ, "The Canadian Searchlight," other than a desire to promote and perpetuate strife, as a result of deception and misleading organization.

Evidence from the columns of this journal, that may be found on file in London, Ont., will prove conclusively that the "Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth" is wholly out of touch with international Socialism, and is not even in line with the much advertised Eugene V. Debs' "Social Democracy," recently "busted."

On political organization the "Canadian Searchlight" is on record editorially as follows (in No. 54, issued February 9, 1898): "We are often asked why the C. C. C. does not prohibit its members from joining either of the old parties. WE ANSWER THAT WE DO NOT THINK IT BEST; WE DO NOT BELIEVE IN THE 'THOU SHALT NOT'—THE FIAT OF TYRANNY."

Three weeks after the above announcement, the Ontario elections to the legislative Assembly were held, and the London Section of the Canadian Socialist Labor party put a candidate in the field. As an evidence of desire for disunion, and as an example of treachery to the cause of Socialism by its professed friends, the "Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth" put its vice-president (C. H. Gould) in the field as a candidate, and (No. 56, issued February 23, 1898) the "Canadian Searchlight" (giving positively no intimation to its constituency of any Socialist in the field) gives a front page advertisement of meetings of the "INDEPENDENT candidate, C. H. Gould."

This "Co-operative" effort to confuse the London constituency was also branded with the following piece of fakirism, proved by the columns of the "Searchlight." In order to collect a vote that might swamp the S. L. P. vote, and convey to ouside readers of "The Searchlight" that the "Co-operative" movement was a big affair, against which the vote of the S. L. P. would not be in it, the "Co-op." schemers tacked the following plank to their platform as No. 9: "THE TOTAL PROHIBITION OF THE MANUFACTURE AND SALE OF ALL INTOXICATING LIQUORS, EXCEPT FOR MEDICINAL PURPOSES" (How about the "Thou shalt not" fiat of tyranny in this case?), and then, 24 hours before the last moment, secured Mr. F. Daly, a member of the Prohibition party, to nominate the vice-president of "The Canadian Co-operative Commonwealth" as an "Independent" candidate, in opposition to the candidate of the Socialist Labor party.

The result of the campaign was that the candidate of the S. L. P. polled more than double the vote of the whole combination of "Co-operation, Prohibition, and Independence." The "Canadian Searchlight" has been dumb as an oyster ever since about its vote in the campaign; and failed to announce to its readers (in the following issues) the Socialist victory in London, Ont.

This miserable combination has not, however, failed to continue its efforts to deceive outsiders and promote "branches" under false pretences of being in line with international Socialism; and through the "Canadian Searchlight" appeals for "funds" and "branches" to perpetuate its confusion and deceptions. The Secretary of the "C. C. C." is well known to his colleagues to be a defaulting treasurer of an organization with which he was formerly connected, and is retained in office BECAUSE THE LONDON MEMBERSHIP IS SO SMALL AND DEMORALIZED THAT NO OTHER PERSON CAN BE NOMINATED TO THIS OFFICE IN THE "DOMINION EXECUTIVE."

The chairman of this combination, Mr. Spence, came to Canada from the United States since the Pullman strike, and is now unfortunately engaged in dividing the ranks of the Canadians, instead of uniting with the existing S. L. P. of Canadian citizens.

Regarding the "Canadian Searchlight's" advertisements for "able-bodied men at good wages" for colonization work, the bogus characteristics of this disreputable work are made more prominent in the recent address signed by Eugene V. Debs to the "busted" "Social Democracy," wherein is exposed the rascality of subterfuges, such as are duplicated in this "Canadian Searchlight," in the following terms to deceive its own friends (see issue No. 61, March 30, 1898): "WE REGRET THAT IT IS NECESSARY FOR US TO REMAIN SILENT UNTIL SOME OF OUR WORK IS MORE FULLY MATURED. WE ARE OBLIGED TO THUS KEEP OUR PLANS TO OURSELVES FOR THE PRESENT, BUT IT IS TO YOUR INTERESTS THAT WE DO SO, LEST SHOULD WE MAKE THEM KNOWN TO THE PUBLIC THE ENEMIES OF OUR WORK SHOULD FRUSTRATE THEM." Then comes the main point: "YOU CAN AID US NOW BY CONTRIBUTING YOUR MITE."

The "Canadian Searchlight" has acknowledged at various times $50, $20, $10, and similar donations to colonization work, but it never yet gave any report of the way that money has been manipulated, and "WE ARE OBLIGED TO THUS KEEP OUR PLANS TO OURSELVES," is a very essential part in the programme of the "C. C. C."

It is the inevitable failure of such humbugs as this "C. C. C." that is periodically advertised as an illustration of a failure of Socialism, and it thus becomes a duty on the part of the S. L. P. to expose their deceptions, and repudiate such "monkey-shines" as being in any sense connected with the political organization of the international Socialist movement in Canada.

HENRY B. ASHPLANT.

Unhappy Miners.

Uses to Which Strikes Are Put by Pure and Simple Misleaders.

ALTOONA, Pa., July 11—There has been a call made for a meeting of the miners in this city July 13, 1898, for the purpose of collecting more dues, and thereby to enable the officers to take a midsummer outing to the seashore.

The wording of the call should be preserved. It is thus:

"By request of a majority of the local unions in good standing, sanctioned by a majority of the executive board, a district convention will be held in this city of Altoona, Wednesday, July 13, at 10 a. m., to deal with the questions now agitating the district. Each local union of the United Mine Workers whose tax is paid up will be entitled to one vote for each 50 members or fractional part thereof. Back dues can be paid up at the convention.

"Miners at mines where no union exists will be entitled to one vote for each 50 members or fractional part thereof for whom five cents per capita tax is paid at the convention. We would urge the miners everywhere, organized and unorganized, to send delegates to the coming convention, which will be one of the most important ever held in the district. Select delegates with care and a knowledge that they are the miners' friends. We cannot afford to have detectives in our convention, even if the operators are anxious to play that game."

At Pomptom Lake, N. J., the Laflin & Rand Gunpowder Mills, where powder was being manufactured for the army, exploded, killing eleven workingmen and injuring, probably for life, many more.

Are these men or their survivors to receive a pension?

The "popular war loan" is becoming more and more popular. Individual capitalists get their cousins, their sisters and their aunts to put in calls; thus the number of "subscribers" is increased, and the "popularity" of the loan is demonstrated.

The numerous calls that have come in for the New Bedford speech "What Means This Strike?" published in these columns a few weeks ago, has determined the National Executive Committee to reprint it in pamphlet form. It can be had at the Labor News Company, 64 E. 4th street, this city. Single copies, 5 cents; 10 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, $2.50.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

ON TO 100,000.

State Convention and Nomination in New Hampshire.

Declaration of Principles on the Causes of Modern Social Suffering and the Method out of the Trouble—The Revolution Demands the Redemption of Labor from its Merchandise Status—The Ticket—Enthusiasm that Portents Good Work.

MANCHESTER, N. H., July 11—The second New Hampshire State Convention of the Socialist Labor party assembled in the Manchester City Hall, Saturday, July 9. The convention hall was beautifully decorated for the occasion, and for the first time in history a red banner, bearing the uplifted arm and hammer, greeted the proletariat of New Hampshire in a law-making house. Reports concerning "the condition of party organization throughout the State" evoked a protracted discussion.

The following

PLATFORM

was then presented and adopted:

The Socialist Labor party of New Hampshire, in its second convention assembled, declares that the ethical purpose of government is to secure to all its subjects the unrestricted right and opportunity to exercise their natural faculties of production to meet the nature imposed necessities to life and comfort, but since the tools of production no longer are the property of the laborer, and the hand of toil has now become a mere appendage to ponderous and intricate machinery ever attaining a greater degree of automatic efficiency, thereby disemploying the people whose only marketable commodity for exchange is their labor power; the right and opportunity to meet the inexorable demands of nature, obviously is economically restricted.

Like grain, leather, or other merchandise, labor power seeks a buyer, the market price of which is determined by the law of supply and demand, but unlike other merchandise, is terribly perishable. A gigantic combination of speculators may corner all the wheat in America, and in a short time bring a higher price. By cornering the laborers, a gigantic labor union may corner all the labor power in America, but in a short time its corpses bring only a putrid order.

The capitalist class madly agree to continue the profit system, wherein the wealth producer must needs be exploited, but in party politics they divide in contention for the spoils; hence the politics of the working class is class politics. It is, therefore, plain that each and every worker for wages, be his occupation intellectual or manual, has identical interests in acquiring the political power, not to be used against one another, but against all capitalists, of whatever economic size or political name.

Class politics must then be the workers' rallying cry.

Events glaringly indicate that the general Court of New Hampshire has become little more than a committee of railroad corporations, vested with legislative authority, and free to transgress the predominant will of their respective constituents, rendering our present methods of law-making a travesty of popular government.

Against the sale of liquor an indignant public has vainly raised its voice in constitutional convention.

While immense profits offer a standing reward to all who hold seats before the public official bargain counter, the evils complained of are not likely to be abated.

When the private sale of liquor ceases to be a lucrative pursuit, voluntarily it will be abandoned.

In consideration of the foregoing social review, we demand the common ownership of all means of production and exchange, including the land; that every man and woman shall, by virtue of their mere existence, possess an equal, inseparable share, and that the fruits of their individual perseverance, industry and frugality, shall be their private wealth.

WHEREAS, With the founders of the American republic we believe a just government possible only by consent of the governed; the people of Cuba, like those of the United States, can only be free when the agencies of wealth production are jointly owned and operated by and for the whole people, and vast accumulations of wealth may no longer control legislative functions; that a Cuban Congress dominated by American and British capitalists will be no better for Cubans than a Spanish Cortes dominated by French and Spanish capitalists; and, furthermore, believing Democratic self-government of a people prerequisite to a Socialist republic, therefore be it

RESOLVED, By the Socialist Labor party of New Hampshire, in convention assembled, that we commend the enforced withdrawal of Spanish authority from the island of Cuba and the subsequent establishment of the Socialist co-operative commonwealth therein.

WHEREAS, The uplifted arm and hammer, the national symbol, represents the means of production in possession of the worker, therefore

RESOLVED, That we adopt such emblem to represent the Socialist Labor party upon the official ballot at future elections.

Enthusiasm followed the nomination of Comrades Benjamin I. Whitehouse, of Dover, for Governor, and Louis Arnstein, of Dover, for Congressman, First District. Comrade Arnstein was an attending delegate, and in an inspiring speech accepted the nomination tendered him.

H. H. ACTON,
Secretary State Committee.

THE PEOPLE.

Published at 184 William Street, New York
— EVERY SUNDAY, —

TERMS TO SUBSCRIBERS.
Invariably in advance:

ne year	$0.50
ix months	0.25
ingle copies	0.02

As far as possible, rejected communications will be returned if so desired and stamps are enclosed.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York, N. Y., Post office on April 6, 1891.

ALLIED PRINTING TRADES UNION LABEL COUNCIL NEW YORK CITY

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential)	2,068
In 1890	13,331
In 1892 (Presidential)	21,157
In 1894	33,133
In 1896 (Presidential)	36,564
In 1897	55,673

Mountain chains are built, not by upheavals, but by subsidence.
Sir Charles Lyell.

NATURAL, AGAIN.

In the regular course of events, two bills landed abreast of each other before the Senate of the United States on the 6th instant. One of them was a bill, or resolution, to annex Hawaii; the other was a bill limiting the hours of daily services of laborers, workmen, and mechanics employed upon the public works or work done for the United States, or any Territory, or the District of Columbia. In short, one bill was in the interest of a section of the capitalist class; the other was in the interest of the working class, which is the same as saying that it was against the interest of all sections of the capitalist class. Understanding this, the fate of the two bills will be no mystery to the knowing.

Naturally, in a Senate composed from top to bottom of capitalists and their pursuivants, the bill for the eight-hour day was promptly dumped, and precedence was granted to the Hawaiian proposition which puts dollars and cents into the pockets of the parasite class of capitalists.

So far, what hapened with this eight-hour bill was natural enough. Legislation favorable to labor is a fruit that can be strained through the loins of a capitalist Congress as little as a Kentucky stallion can be strained through the loins of a Texas coyote. But there were other accompaniments to the fate of this eight-hour bill that render the occurrence still more natural—natural all around.

* * *

The scientific deduction that capitalist government is there for the benefit of the capitalist class; that it is a government of, for and by the exploiter flows from shiploads of facts. Occasionally, however, one thing or other happens that seems to overthrow the theory. A bill does pass somewhere, and is unquestionably in favor of labor. Does the fact overthrow the theory? No, because it must be considered in connection with other and accompanying facts.

To become law a bill or proposition must first combine at least three features:

It must be passed by one House;

It must be passed by the other House;

Lastly, it must be approved by the Executive.

The passing of a bill by the lower House, for instance, in no way indicates that the capitalist class, controlling that House, is in favor of the workingman; it may pass the bill for show, knowing that it will be defeated in the other House; and both Houses may pass it, knowing the Executive will veto it; or even the Executive may join in making the bill a law, knowing that the courts will declare it unconstitutional. All this has been seen a score of times in all sorts of combinations; and one of these combinations accompanies the fate of the present eight-hour bill:

IT PASSED THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES UNANIMOUSLY; BUT WAS THROWN ASIDE IN THE SENATE!

If ever nature was vindicated, it was vindicated in this bill. The capitalist class is class conscious; it knows the uses of government; and it does not muff its opportunity. The captor of governmental power, it uses the government in its own exclusive interest.

* * *

But yet the features of the fate of this eight-hour bill are not yet exhausted:

Only the other day the president of the Granite Cutters, in a frantic effort to prevent his union from yielding to the increased light it is getting, and cutting loose from the A. F. of L., alluded to the Eight-Hour bill; he claimed that it was backed by that "powerful" labor force in the A. F. of L.; he prophesied its passage as a result of such backing; and he argued—this was his main point—that the dues paid by his union to the A. F. of L., and a good deal more, was certainly a good investment seeing that the A. F. of L. would "wrench from Congress the eight-hour day for the workingman." What has become of the investment?

* * *

Take it all in all; turn the events over which way one wants; look at it from what side one may choose, it is a complete manifestation of the natural laws that govern the acts of man, producing natural results.

POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

As an instance of materialist evolution run mad, the following from the Liverpool, England, "Labour Chronicle" is first class:

"Bit by bit, even without the help of the Socialists, Socialism will come."

It is a fundamental principle in the evolution of society that it differs from the strict evolution of matter in that the human intellect plays a conspicuous and necessary part therein; and that the higher the plane of social evolution the more necessary is the aid of the intellect. In the lower grades of evolution, changed material conditions that come about without the knowledge or co-operation of man, force themselves upon him, and force him to adapt himself to them. As man progresses along the line, however, a point is reached where the intellect is a necessary coadjutor to evolution. The intellect must gather the facts that establish the social law, and must FORESEE what is coming. If it foresees correctly, and acts accordingly, social evolution will be progressward and robust; if it does not foresee correctly, then social evolution will be stunted, may produce congestion, and may result in cataclysm. At this high stage of social development, the Socialist is indispensable to that progressward and robust evolution that is summed up in Socialism.

To watch the Socialists, who, like the "Labour Chronicle," spend time, money and effort in educating the people for the reception of Socialism, and yet claim that "without the help of Socialists, Socialism will come," is to be reminded of the ballad troubadours of old who claimed their heroes were invulnerable, yet spent couplet upon couplet in clothing them cap-a-pie in strongest mail.

Under the title,

"OUR OWN DAY."

the Wallace, Ida., "State Tribune" of last June 25, has this article:

"Cœur d'Alene Labor Day, the 11th of July, is only two weeks distant and unless all signs fail it will be the grandest anniversary of the men who sacrificed their lives in the cause of labor ever observed in this district. Every union man in Cœur d'Alene who enjoys a fair standard of wages realizes that it is due to the fearless and noble sacrifices of the three true-hearted men who sleep beneath the sod in Nine Mile Cemetery, and they feel that the very least they can do in appreciation is to gather in Wallace on that day, march to the cemetery and by fitting memorial ceremonies pay their respects to their departed heroes.

"Every year since the memorable summer of 1892 members of the Cœur d'Alene labor organizations and their friends have observed this day, each succeeding year showing a larger number of men in line, until a year ago one thousand noble men marched to the cemetery to commemorate the memory of their departed brethren.

"The men who have charge of the arrangements this year are taking hold of the work with a vim and with the hearty co-operation of each local union and assembly it will be made the greatest day ever observed in the Cœur d'Alenes."

The "men who sleep beneath the sod in Nine Mile Cemetery" are a monument of the oneness of capitalist interests, though seemingly divided in opposing capitalist parties. It was upon the demand of the Republican son-in-law of Mills, Whitelaw Reid, and the Democrat Perry Bellomont, both the leading stock-holders in the Cœur d'Alene mines, that the Republican President Harrison sent the Federal troops to break a Cœur d'Alene strike, and thus send workingmen to sleep under the sod.

Is the lesson learned at Walace? It seems not. So far, it looks as if "the men asleep under the sod in Nine Mile Cemetery" had died in vain.

And yet, not so. Though Idaho has not yet learned the lesson these men helped to teach, it has been learned elsewhere.

The Omaha, Neb., "Labor Bulletin" evidently is of the opinion that IT is the working class. Look at the legend surmounting its own name:

"Workingmen, the Advertisers in this Paper are your Friends!"

Looking over the advertisers, we see an uninterrupted line of labor skinners, who, not satisfied with plucking their own employés, are anxious to pluck one another's employés by drawing them in as customers.

What are these "labor papers" whose hungry editors depend upon "ads" but the cousins-german of the puller-in at mock-auction sales?

The Cleveland, O., "Citizen" displays a shocking disregard for the comforts of our élite military grandees. Just listen to it:

"It is really too bad that G. Creighton Webb, young James G. Blaine, Russell B. Harrison, Algernon Sartoris, William Joyce Sewell, Bradlee Strong, Harry S. New, John Jacob Astor, Erskine Hewitt, young Brice, and some of the other pets of McKinley who were appointed captains, majors and colonels—with salaries of $150 to $300 a month—over the heads of old and experienced soldiers, were not heard of performing valorous deeds on the bloody field of Santiago. We imagine that these young plutocratic officers were beside themselves with eagerness to lead the labor soldiers into the very teeth of the enemy. Where are McKinley's favorites? Are they to remain at the rear to admire their handsome gold lace and smoke cigarettes while the $13-a-month workingmen are doing the fighting? It is to be hoped that our rich young men with great titles will be heard from."

THE EIGHT HOUR MOVEMENT.

The death of Michael Schwab is an incident that bids me halt!

A special delivery letter from Federation Wrecker Samuel Gompers to cigarmakers, directing us to at once throw our whole influence upon the back of our Senators, says: "Senator Platt is the greatest obstacle in the way of passing the Eight Hour bill, now pending." For Platt to have the same interests at heart that Carnegie has seems to be considered a coincidence.

I have before me a copy of the "Argument Submitted in Favor of the Passage of Joint Resolution, H. R. 239, for the Enforcement of the Eight Hour Law," by the National Eight Hour Delegation, before the Committee of U. S. Senate, February 9, 1881, compiled by John G. Mills, secretary, and Dyer D. Lum. The pamphlet begins thus: "There is pending in the Senate of the United States a joint resolution (H. R. 239), passed by a two-third vote in the House during the last session, which provides for the enforcement of the act of Congress of June 25, 1868, known as the 'Eight Hour Law.' Proceeding to point out the many reasons for such law, all just and timely; recalling the many resolutions adopted by the various trades assemblies, demanding the enforcement of this law in the various departments of governmental works, up to 1879; quoting opinions of President Grant and some Cabinet officers, also of President Hayes, all seeming favorable to the enforcement of the law, two members of the Eight Hour League in the employ of the government, S. C. Hunt, Boston, Mass., and Joseph Brown, of Washington, D. C., wrote a letter to Benjamin F. Butler, asking his counsel as an experienced legislator and lawyer on this bill. This letter is dated Washington, D. C., April 18, 1879, and on the 22d Butler sent his opinion. He says: "One of two things is certain, either that that legislation should be repealed, or that, standing upon the statute book, it should not be evaded or held for naught by Executive officers, claiming to act under it, yet nullifying it." Then Butler proceeds to tell in his own way that the Eight Hour day must be begun by the government because it could stand a loss if it entailed any, without discouraging the movement in the future. After considerable skirmishing, Mr. Van Aerman, of the Committee on Education, on March 10, 1880, reported the following joint resolution: "Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that, according to the true intent and meaning of Section Thirty-seven hundred and thirty-eight of the Revised Statutes, all laborers, workmen, and mechanics, employed by or in behalf of the government, shall hereafter receive a full day's pay for eight hours' work; and all heads of departments, officers, and agents of the government are hereby directed to enforce said law as herein interpreted."

On that day, the committee of the League, consisting of R. F. Trevellick, Detroit, Mich.; John G. Mills, New York; Dyer D. Lum, Washington, D. C.; Albert R. Parsons, Chicago, Ill.; Chas. H. Litchman, Marblehead, Mass.; S. C. H. Hunt, Boston, Mass., wrote a letter to the Hon. Richard W. Thompson, Secretary of the Navy, attempting to impress this official with the fact that he was violating the statutes, but failed to make him believe it, as Thompson too had "the same interests at heart that Carnegie had, and our Senator Platt now has at heart."

In spite of this failure, the committee continued in their appeals to the Senate and to President Hayes, who, together with Ebon G. Ingersoll, of Illinois, in 1866, were members of Congress and fought the Eight Hour bill through, the committee, even tried to impress the President that owing to this work for labor in Congress was due his popularity in 1876, when he was elected President. Yet all the committee can show for its exertion is that now and then a circular issued from the heads of departments, containing slimy words for workingmen. Grant, too, favored the workingmen in 1872. Finally the committee, tired of appealing, decided upon argument, and Albert R. Parsons, of Chicago, argued before the Senate Committee as follows: "What we want, is, not to establish an aristocracy of labor, as was intimated by Mr. Baxter, who said that it would be unfair to give a special class the benefit of short hours. This manufacturer admitted in that remark that it was a benefit to have short hours, and that the men who have them would be a privileged class of laborers. We know that so far as legislation is concerned, Congress is the fountain head, the highest authority, and we went to work to get Congress to pass an Eight Hour Law, knowing that the example would be followed by States and by municipalities, and will become a custom of society. Eight hours' labor will, through that process, constitute a day's work, and will become, not, perhaps, a statutory law, but the common law of the community, just as ten hours' labor now is the common law. Ten hours labor is the rule, not under any statutory enactment, but because it is the custom of society. You see that an Eight Hour law is feasible as far as Congress has jurisdiction, and I have stated to you some of the reasons why we want the hours of labor reduced. Mr. Baxter states that he does not believe that ten hours of labor is injurious to the working classes, either mentally, physically, morally, or pecuniarily. Right here is where the working classes take issue with the manufacturers. Aside from any question of capital and labor, we as working people know that it is morally, mentally, physically, and pecuniarily injurious to us as a class to work for more than eight hours a day the year round. Hours of labor represent all that there is in the artificial wealth of the world. Of course, land is wealth, but it has a sham value, because it is not the result of labor. Land is not created by labor, but by nature. All visible wealth, however, all created wealth, is the result of labor, and represents precisely so many hours' labor. Therefore, in this labor question the fight is narrowed down (because it is a fight) as to which class is going to get the benefit of these hours of labor—the employing or the employed class. The Eight Hour League, and the trades unions, and the other organizations of the country that are making this demand do not propose thereby to cripple industry. They do not propose to bring an industrial confusion or a state of anarchy, or to precipitate revolution in this country. We are peaceable citizens, husbands, fathers. We are citizens of the State and law-abiding men. When we are charged with being incendiaries, when we are charged with being conspirators, violators of the law, and incited to rebellion, it only needs to see from whom these charges emanate in order to be able to get a fair idea as to how much weight should be attached to them. Charges of this character are merely an effort on the part of those who are trying to prevent us from improving our condition. The working class simply seek to improve their condition. This is a natural feeling, and I cannot say that there is anything necessarily seditious, criminal in such a desire. We simply want less work and more pay, knowing that only through short hours and high wages our conditions will be improved. We know this, and hence we struggle for it. We wish to get at it by degrees. We wish to affiliate whatever is good in society by the process of attraction, and the first thing we demand is a measure that will diminish the immediate power of wealth, and will remove the worst forms of poverty. The immediate power of wealth consists in the power to force men to submit to the terms dictated by wealth, out of which men will perform a day's labor. This is the immediate power of wealth. This is an evil which should be removed, and we want to remove the worst disability of poverty by reducing the hours of labor, by the distributing of work that is to be done more equally among the workingmen, and consequently reducing the competition among the workingmen themselves for the opportunity to work. By making labor scarce we will increase its value, because wherever there is a scarcity of an article in the market (and labor is the chief necessary of life) in proportion to its scarcity the demand will increase, and the price will increase with the demand. I believe that will be the result, first of the action of Congress, and then of action of the States. But not until the working people of the United States, through their trades and labor unions, meet in national conclave or in labor congress, and there decidethat the hours of labor must be regulated, will it be done. Not until then will it be done and become an absolute custom of society. I think that the laboring men of this country—the organized working people of this country—should consider this matter as soon as possible."

Mr. Cowgill, member of the Congress Committee: "I object to the statement of the witness, because if the remedy of the depression of labor can only be obtained through the means he speaks of, it is not likely to be obtained through Congress. To use his own words, it will not be obtained through Congress, and therefore we have nothing whatever to do with it."

The Chairman, Mr. Wright: "We have the right to take the statement of the witness as to the propriety of an Eight Hour law. (To the witness) What else have you to say on the subject?"

Parsons: "I wish to offer to the committee a set of resolutions emanating from the Eight Hour League, embodying the sentiment of the trades unions of the United States, which are demanding the reduction of the day's labor to eight hours. I wish to submit these resolutions as setting forth the views of that class of men:

"RESOLVED, That the first great event which ever occurred in the progress of industry, was a division of labor; that the progress that divides human labor is the fact that distinguishes the most of mankind from the savages; that in a division of labor, the expenditures of one laborer furnish employment, or day's work for other laborers; that day's work or employment can be increased by increasing expenditures; that the expenditures or outgoes of the laborer can only be increased by increasing his wages or income; that employment for the unemployed can only come from the larger incomes and outgoes of those who are employed; and that the only way by which the income of wage laborers can ever be permanently increased without reducing its purchasing power or increasing the cost of production is through a reduction of the hours of labor.

"RESOLVED, That American prosperity never can develop into healthy and permanent conditions by increasing exports or decreasing imports; that if foreign productions pay for the larger exports, instead of foreign money, such payment must be either distributed to actual consumers, many of whom may be laborers, or be exported. But if larger exports are paid for in foreign money, instead of foreign goods, such payments are far more likely to enrich American capitalists than to increase the comforts of the American laborer.

"RESOLVED, That the extraordinary increase of American exports within two or three years should be regarded with profound mortification, because they are the disgraceful result of the decreased earnings and increased poverty necessary for American laborers to undersell, discharge, and make paupers of European laborers. And the lower wages at home, necessary to capture foreign employments, are the lower wages necessary to destroy home employments.

'RESOLVED, That the congratulations unblushingly indulged by American statesmanship over our increasing exports are sufficient evidence that it fails to comprehend the almost infinite difference between capturing the world's employments through competition and creating new employments through a higher civilization.

"RESOLVED, That within the last quarter of a century so few new occupations, comparatively, have been created, and so many old occupations have been destroyed by improved methods of production, that the discharged laborers of Europe and the United States cannot now obtain sufficient employment from the trade and commerce of all the outside world; especially when to the idleness now existing is added the idleness that ought to exist if all non-productive and destructive avocations were blotted out of existence, and those who follow them were also discharged.

'RESOLVED, That to laborers not enslaved by positive law, the most deadly thing that can ever occur is enforced idleness; that idle hands are at the root of all bankruptcy and financial ruin; and that whether idleness increases or decreases is the most important knowledge industrial statistics can now reveal, because the increase or decrease of idle men decides whether a financial storm is coming or going; therefore,

"RESOLVED, That hand in hand with the great movement for eight hours must be a weekly or a frequent census and report of the world's employed; that eight hours or less hours will create days' works; and how many days' works must be created will be revealed when the statistics of idleness are sufficiently thorough and extended to cover the whole civilized world.

"RESOLVED, That these two measures are not American, or English, German, or French, but they belong to the political economy which begins with the idea that our country is the world, and our countrymen are all mankind. And for their final vindication we confidently appeal to the better educated public opinion of the civilized world."

Now, Parson's part is ended; I gave it in full; I shall now copy Litchman's also in full:

"Now, coming to the hours of labor, if under the old system of doing things it required a certain number of hours to do a certain amount of work, and if through the introduction of machinery that same amount of work can be done in half the time that it formerly required, it seems to me that there is no excuse for working men the same length of time that they formerly worked, because the inevitable result of doing so would be to throw half the number of men out of employment. In my own trade, the introduction of machinery has reduced the number of shoemakers in this State from 70,000 to 50,000. So that I say we can meet the introduction of labor-saving machinery, first and above all, by co-operation, whereby labor can own a portion of the machinery, and, second, by reducing the hours of labor. As a proof of that, shoemaking in this State used to occupy about eleven months in the year. Now it occupies only eight months at the farthest, and in some instances only seven months, so that the men are idle from four to five months in the year."

The Chairman: "What causes that?"

Litchman: "Because in seven months they can produce enough to last for the year by machinery. If you decrease the hours of labor then you have got either to increase the number of machines or the number of men. If you increase the number of machines, you give employment to make the machines, so that the thing will even up. Now, if all the work of mankind can be done by machinery, mankind should have the advantage of it."

Then Chairman Wright read a letter from S. C. Hunt, Boston, full of arguments of the reformer's kind, but appropriate and timely; also a letter from John G. Mills, of Washington, D. C., secretary of the League, just as good as the other. I have before me also the prize essay, "Trade Unions," by Mr. Wm. Traut, of England, who secured the prize of £50 offered by the Trade Union Congress of Great Britain, but in the form, as Gompers says in the preface: "It is a standard work, prepared, after considerable research, and it has been carefully edited to suit American conditions." But I shall not avail myself of it. There is an appendix to this essay by P. J. Maguire, that is connected with my subject. It is the very best evidence of the first great work the A. F. of L. has done to establish the eight hour day. P. 41, Maguire says: "The Anarchists, members of the International Workingmen's Association, who had hitherto violently opposed the eight hour movement and condemned it on every occasion, now seized upon it as an instrument, it is believed, to further their propaganda, and the mildest of their agitators became prominent in their attendance at eight hour meetings: The throwing of the bombs at the Haymarket meeting in Chicago on May 5, 1886, however, had a very depressing effect on the eight hour movement, as President Samuel Gompers declared to Governor Oglesby, inasmuch as the trade union element in general did not wish to be associated or connected in the popular mind with Anarchists or their methods, and, consequently, the measure has not been passed since."

Altgeld proved Parsons a victim of capitalist class justice, he died for his convictions guiltless, there was judicial murder. Gompers' first A. F. of Hell work was to lay labor down before Oglesby, the bloodthirsty Governor, to trample upon. S. JOSEPH.

Hartford, Conn.

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UNCLE SAM & BROTHER JONATHAN.

Brother Jonathan—You Socialists are not practical.

Uncle Sam—Just teach us how to be so?

B. J.—Now, I'm as good a Socialist as you, but I won't nail myself fast on a dogma.

U. S.—This nailing of oneself fast on a dogma is about the worst thing a man could do.

B. J.—I should think so; and that's just what you Socialists do.

U. S.—Inasmuch as to which?

B. J.—You maintain that only your S. L. P. can bring any help——

U. S.—Just so.

B. J.—There you have it! And I maintain that we can get there through the other parties as well——

U. S.—What!

B. J.—And I'll prove it.

U. S.—That's the way to talk. It is refreshingly rare to find a man who will attempt to prove his assertions, especially when, as in your case, he talks nonsense.

B. J.—We'll find out if it is nonsense. The Democratic party is much nearer to the people than the Republican party; will you deny that?

U. S.—Speak on, man; speak on!

B. J.—Well, the Democratic party IS. And as a proof of it, at the last municipal election it quite strongly inclined towards the workingman and the Socialist programme——

U. S.—W—h—a—t—?

B. J.—Just what I said. And I'll prove it. Don't Socialists want municipal ownership of railroads?

U. S.—In a manner, we do.

B. J. (triumphantly)—Well, that's just about what the Democratic party in this city declared for.

U. S.—And enforced it?

B. J.—Well, they have not had a chance.

U. S.—If I promise you one dollar and have no chance to give it to you, does that justify my taking a dollar out of your pocket?

B. J.—Why, no!

U. S.—And if I did, would my promise to give you a dollar be enough to base a claim upon that I am your friend?

B. J.—Surely not, after you not only do not give me the promised dollar, but take a dollar away from me.

U. S.—And that's just what your Democratic "friend of the workingman" did.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—The Brooklyn Bridge, with its cable cars, was municipal property, was it not?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Well, now, the Democratic administration of this city virtually turned that municipal property into private property.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—I'll tell you. It opened the bridge to the private trolley lines; these now run over it; thereby the bridge was given away to private enterprise of capitalists. And what was the effect? Now that all these trolley cars run over it, we, the former employés, have had our wages reduced, and some lost their places outright.

B. J.—You don't say so!

U. S.—I do. There were 56 conductors discharged just as soon as these private trolleys went over the bridge; and our wages, the wages of those who remained at work went down and their hours of work went up. Formerly we earned $2.76 in an eight-hour day; now we are allowed only $2 in a ten-hour day, and worse is threatened. Did your Democratic party prove a friend?

B. J.—No, I must admit it didn't.

U. S.—Instead of keeping its word, it made things worse still for us.

B. J.—Yes; that's so; but would the Republican party have done any better?

U. S.—Why, no! Republican or Democratic party, they're crows of one nest—the nest of the capitalist class. No good can come from either. If we workingmen want salvation, we must win it by a party of our own class, the Socialist Labor party; we must win it by ceasing to be voting cattle for the capitalists, and voting for ourselves.

O, TRY AGAIN MY FRIEND.

[Written for THE PEOPLE by FRED'K KRAFFT Jersey City.]

See how the spider straightway goes
His broken web to mend.
So rise, take heart, cast down thy woes,
O try again, my friend.

O try again and force thy fate
Submissively to bend,
Without delay, 'tis not too late.
O try again, my friend.

O try again, and firm resolve
Will to thy spirit lend
The pow'r all things to solve.
O try again, my friend.

O try again, be not dismayed,
The right to live defend.
Truth crushed to earth is but delayed.
O try again, my friend.

O try again, and victory
Thy labors will attend.
Awake, and strike for liberty!
O try again, my friend.

Milwaukee, Wis.

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HOW COMES IT THAT THE TRADES ARE OVERSTOCKED?

It is not only through the extension of large production that the capitalist system causes the condition of the proletariat to become more and more that of the whole population. It brings this about also through the circumstance that the condition of the wage-worker, engaged in large production, strikes the keynote for the condition of wage-workers in all other branches. The conditions under which the latter work and live are revolutionized; the advantages, which they may have had over those employed in capitalist industry, are turned into so many disadvantages under the influence of the latter. To illustrate, in those localities where mechanics still work for, and board and lodge with, the master mechanic, the poor board and lodging which the wage-worker, employed in a capitalist industry, can afford become a pretext for the master mechanic to reduce both the board and the comforts of lodging which his workmen enjoyed. Again, formerly the long period requisite for apprenticeship was a means to prevent the overstocking of trade; to-day the system of apprenticeship, conducted under the guise of benevolence in many of our large cities, and called trades schools, notably in New York and Pittsburg, is one of the most effective means to overrun many a trade with cheap labor, and to knock the bread from the mouths of the adult laborers. In this respect also, as in so many others, those institutions, which, under the system of small production, were sensible and beneficent, have, under the influence of the capitalist system, become either nonsensical or hurtful.

There is another, and very extensive, domain on which the capitalist system of large production exercises its influence, of turning the population into proletarians—the domain of commerce. The large stores have begun to bear, and are now bearing heavily upon the small ones. The number of small stores does not, therefore, necessarily diminish. On the contrary, it increases. The small store is the last refuge of the bankrupt small producer. Were the small stores actually crowded out, the ground would be wholly taken up from under the feet of the small traders; they would then be forthwith thrust below the class of the proletariat—into the slums; they would be turned into beggars, vagabonds and candidates for the penitentiary! Such in fact is, to a great extent, the evolution of the small trader.

But it is not in the reduction of the number of small stores, it is in the debasement of their character that the influence of large production manifests itself in commerce. The small trader deals in ever worse and cheaper goods; the tribe of the habberdasher grows; and the streets and roads are overrun with peddlers, itinerant venders and hucksters of all manner of worthless articles: of spoiled fruit, decayed vegetables, etc., etc., sold under false pretences with all sorts of fraudulent devices, such as deceptive measures and weights. Thus the livelihood of the independent small trader becomes ever more precarious, more proletarian-like, while, steadily and at the same time, in the large stores, the number of employees goes up—genuine proletarians, without prospect of ever becoming independent. Woman and child labor, with their accompaniment of prostitution; excessive work; lack of work; starvation wages;—all the symptoms of large production appear also in increasing quantity in the domain of commerce. Steadily the condition of the employees in the department approaches that of the proletarians in the department of production. The only difference perceptible between the two is that the former preserve the appearances of a better living, which require sacrifices unknown to the industrial proletarians.

There is still a third category of proletarianism that has gone far on the road of its complete development: the educated proletarians. Education has become a special trade under our present system. The measure of knowledge has increased greatly, and grows daily. Capitalist society and the capitalist state are ever more in need of men of knowledge and ability to conduct their business, in order to bring the forces of nature under their power, be it for purposes of production or of destruction, or to enable them to expend in luxurious living their increasing profits. Now then, it is not only the handworking small farmer, mechanic, or the proletarians in general, who have no time to devote themselves to science and art; the merchant, the manufacturer, the banker, the stock-jobber, the landlord class—all of these are in the same fix. Their whole time is taken up either with their work, or with their "business" and pleasures, as the case may be. In modern society it is not, as it used to be under previous social orders, the exploiters themselves, or at least a class of them, who nurse the arts and sciences. The present exploiters, our ruling class, leave those pursuits to a special class, whom they keep in hire. Under this system, education becomes a merchandise.

A hundred years ago or so, this commodity was rare. There were few schools; study was accompanied with considerable expense. So long as small production could support the worker, he stuck to it: only special gifts of nature or favorable circumstances would cause the sons of these to dedicate themselves to the arts and sciences. Incredible, or unlikely, as it may look at first blush, even in so new a country as the United States, the demand for physicians, teachers, artists, etc., etc., was, for quite a long number of years, supplied almost entirely by this limited class and its descendants.

So long as this condition of things lasted, the merchandise education commanded a high price. Its possession procured, at least to those who applied it to practical ends, lawyers, for instance, physicians, professors, etc., quite comfortable livings; not infrequently it also brought fame and honor. The artist, the poet, the philosopher, were, in monarchical countries, the companions of royalty; in our republic they were persons of unquestioned distinction. The aristocracy of intellect felt itself superior to the aristocracy of birth or of money. The only care of such was the development of their intellect. Hence it happened that people of culture could be, and often were, idealists. This circumstance explains the appearance, in the forties, of that galaxy of men and women, who took up in this country the idealist philosophy of Fourier, resulting in the Communistic tidal wave that swept over the land at that season. These aristocrats of education and culture stood above the other classes and their material aspirations and antagonisms. Education meant power, happiness and worthiness. The conclusion seemed inevitable, that, in order to make all men happy and worthy, in order to banish all class antagonisms, all poverty, all wickedness and meanness out of the world, nothing else was needed than to spread education and culture.

Since those days the development of higher education has made immense progress. The number of institutions of learning increased wonderfully, and, in a still larger degree, the number of pupils. In the meantime, the bottom was knocked out of small production. The small property-holder knows today no other way of keeping his sons from sinking into the proletariat but by sending them to college; and he does this if his means will at all allow. But, furthermore, he must consider the future, not of his sons only, but of his daughters also. The rapid development in the division of labor is steadily encroaching upon the household; it is converting one household duty after another into a special industry, and steadily diminishing household work. Weaving, sewing to a great extent, knitting, baking, and many other occupations that at one time filled up the round of household duties, have been either wholly or substantially withdrawn from the sphere of housekeeping. More than fifty years ago, the "store close," of which Artemus Ward loved to make frequent mention, began, in this country, to compete with and supplant the homespun; and similarly, many another home-made staple was extinguished, and its production absorbed by specialized industries. As a result of all this, matrimony, where the wife is to be housekeeper only, is becoming more and more a matter of luxury. But it so happens that the small property-holder and producer is, at the same time sinking steadily, and steadily becoming poorer; ever more and more he loses the means to indulge in luxuries. In consequence of this, the number of spinsters grows apace, and ever larger is the number of those families in which mother and daughter must work for a living. Accordingly, woman labor does not only increase in the domains of both large and small production and commerce, it also spreads in other directions: in government offices, on the telegraph, telephone, railroads, banks, in office clerkships—book-keeping, typewriting, stenography—and in the sphere of the arts and sciences. However loudly prejudices and personal interests may rebel against it, woman labor presses itself forward more and more upon the various professional pursuits. It is not vanity, nor importunity, nor pride, but the force of the economic development that drives woman to labor in these as well as in other departments of human activity. In those countries and those localities of the United States where the men have succeeded in excluding the competition of women from those branches of intellectual pursuits which are still organized upon the old guild principle, the latter press with all the greater force upon those pursuits that are not so organized, like writing, painting, music, etc.

The result of this whole development is that the number of educated people has increased enormously. Nevertheless, the beneficent results, which the idealists expected from an increase of education, have not followed. So long as education is a merchandise, its extension is tantamount to an increase in the quantity of that merchandise, consequently, to the falling of its price, and the decline of the condition of those who possess it. The number of educated people has grown to such an extent that it more than suffices for the wants of the capitalists and of the capitalist state. The labor market of educated labor is to-day as overstocked as that of manual labor. To-day, it is no longer the manual workers alone who have their reserve army of the unemployed, and are afflicted with lack of work; the educated workers also have their reserve army of idleness, and among them also lack of work has taken up its permanent quarters. Those who strain for a public office experience the difficulty of obtaining it by reason of the crowd; those others who seek employment elsewhere experience the extreme of idleness and excessive work the same as the manual workers, and just the same as these they are the victims of wage-slavery.

The condition of the educated workers deterioates visibly; formerly, people spoke of the "aristocracy of the intellect," to-day we speak of the "intellectual" or "educated" proletariat; the time is near when the bulk of these proletarians will be distinguishable from the others only by their conceit. Most of these still imagine they are something better than the manual proletarians; they fancy themselves members of the ruling class; but this attitude distinguishes itself in nothing from that of the lackeys, who, behind the backs of their masters, put on airs of lordship. Those "educated proletarians" have ceased to be the intellectual leaders of the capitalist class; they are to-day, to the capitalist and to capitalist institutions, what "bruisers" and "gougers" are to low taverns. Scheming and plotting are their leading pursuits; their first thought is not the development of their intellectual goods but the sale of these; their principal method of getting along is the prostitution of their own individuality. The same as with the small producers, they are dazzled with a few brilliant prizes in the lottery of life, they shut their eyes to the numberless blanks in the wheel, and barter away body and soul for the merest chance of drawing such a prize. The barter and sale of one's convictions and a marriage for money, these are, in the eyes of the majority of our educated proletarians two means, as natural as they are necessary, "to make one's fortune." Into such creatures has the capitalist system of production turned our idealists, inventors, thinkers, and dreamers!

Still, the supply of this class grows so rapidly that there is little to be made out of education, even though one throw his own individuality into the bargain. The decline of the bulk of educated people into the class of the proletariat can no longer be checked.

Whether this development will result in a movement of the educated people to join the battling proletariat in mass, and not, as hitherto, singly, is still uncertain. This, however, is certain: the fact that the educated people are being turned into proletarians has closed to the class of the proletariat the only gate that was still open, and through which its members might, by dint of their own unaided efforts, have been able to escape into the class above.

It is out of all question that the wage-worker can become a capitalist, at least not in the ordinary run of events. Sensible people do not consider the chances of earning a prize in the Louisiana lottery, or of one's falling heir to the wealth of some unknown relative, when they deal with the condition of the working class. Under certain particularly favorable circumstances it did formerly happen, here and there, that a workman succeeded by dint of of great privations to save up enough wherewith to start a little industry of his own, or set up a little retail shop, or give his son a chance to study and become something "better" than his father. It was always ridiculous to hold out such possibilities to the workmen as the means of improving their condition. In the ordinary course of events the workingman may thank his stars if he is at all able, during good times, to lay by enough not to remain empty-handed when work becomes slack. To-day, however, to hold out such possibilities to the workman is more ridiculous than ever. The economic development does not only make saving, on the part of the workingman, more and more difficult, if at all possible, but it also renders it utterly impossible, even though he may be able to save up something, to therewith pull himself or his children out of the class of the proletariat. To invest his little savings in some small independent industry, were for him to fly from the frying pan into the fire; ten to one, he will be flung back to his previous condition, with the bitter experience that the small producer can no longer keep his head above water—an experience which he will have purchased with the loss of his hard-earned savings.

Still more difficult than the transition into the class of the small producer, indeed, utterly hopeless is the attempt on the part of the proletarian to give his son a chance to study. But let it be accepted, for the sake of argument, that such an attempt has been successful; of what use will a college education be to the son of the proletariat, who, being without funds and without influence, cannot wait for a good chance to sell his knowledge, in these days when thousands of lawyers, doctors, engineers and all manner of professional men are going about hungry?

To-day, whichever way the proletarian may turn, he finds awaiting him the same proletarian conditions of life and of toil; those conditions pervade society more and more; in all countries the bulk of the population has sunk to the level of the proletariat; to the individual proletarian all prospect has vanished of ever being able, by his own efforts, to pull himself out of the quagmire into which the present system of production has pushed him. The forecast of James Madison, made sixty-five years ago, that, owing to our competitive social system, the bulk of our people would ere long have lost, not only all property, but even the hope or the prospect of acquiring any, has been verified to the letter.

The individual proletarian can accomplish his own redemption only with the redemption of his whole class. That consummation cannot, however, be reached without the collective ownership by the people of their instruments of production, i. e., by the Co-operative Commonwealth.

At every previous social revolution, or be it evolution, class superseded class. Thus the feudal class superseded the theocratic; and, in our own days the capitalist superseded the feudal. In each instance a class below upset the class above, emancipated itself by subjugating others, and introduced a new form of human exploitation.

To rear, on the contrary, the Co-operative Commonwealth; to abolish all class antagonisms by abolishing the last of the systems of human exploitation; to redeem itself, and, alone of all classes in the social evolution of the human species, to accomplish its own redemption together with that of the whole, not at the expense of any portion, of mankind—that is the historic mission of the proletariat; that is the noble aim that swells with pride the breast, and sweetens the present bitterness of the lot, of every proletarian, who is conscious of his class distinction, and the obligation it imposes upon him.

Socialist Weekly and Monthly Publications.

ENGLISH.

THE PEOPLE, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. 50 cents per year.

The New Charter, 35 Turk street, San Francisco, Cal. 50 cents per year.

The Rochester Socialist (Monthly). 25 cents per year.

The Socialist Alliance, 79 Dearborn street, Chicago. 50 cents per year.

GERMAN.

Vorwärts, 184 William street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year.

Cleveland Volksfreund, 237 Clair street, Cleveland, Ohio. $2 per year.

DANISH-NORWEGIAN.

Arbejderen, 6832 Marshfield avenue, Chicago, Ill. $1.50 per year.

ITALIAN.

Il Proletario, 296 Market street, Paterson, N. J. $1 per year.

SWEDISH.

Arbetaren, 35 and 37 Frankfort street, New York, N. Y. $1.50 per year.

POLISH.

Sila, 550 Broadway, Buffalo, N. Y. $1 per year.

JEWISH.

Arbeiterzeitung, 9 Rutgers street, New York, N. Y. 75 cents per year.

HUNGARIAN.

Nepszava, 538 East Fifth street, New York, N. Y. $1 per year.

BOHEMIAN.

Pravda, 414 E. 71st street, New York, N. Y. $2 per year, 50 cents a quarter.

ENGLISH AND GERMAN.

The Truth, 514 West Third street, Davenport, Ia.

The English translation of Karl Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire," that recently ran through THE PEOPLE, is now to be had bound in an elegant volume of 78 pages, with Marx' picture as frontispiece. This work is of great value. No Socialist, even though he be no student, and no student even though he be no Socialist, can afford to be without it. Apply Labor News Co., 64 E. 4th street, N. Y. City. Price, 25 cents

CORRESPONDENCE.

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Facts on New Bedford.

To THE PEOPLE.—So many stories reach this town especially on the "great help rendered the strikers by the A. F. of L.," and also upon the "victory won by the strikers," that a few cooling facts should be stated. Here the yarns cannot do any harm: everybody knows what has happened; but at great distances from here much harm can be done by people believing the yarns. Now the facts are:

When the strike first commenced, a joint strike council was formed composed of members representative of the different branches involved. Wm. Punnane (weaver) was secretary, Paul Watson (loom fixer) treasurer, James Cook (spinner) chairman. It was agreed upon that all monies coming in through collectors should be divided up among the unions "per capita"; monies coming on from levies should go to their respective unions. Collectors were sent out all over the country, and they appeared before labor organizations and solicited aid for the strikers. Whenever an organization affiliated with the A. F. of L. sent anything it was carefully noted for "Sammy Go" to make boasts of in the future, when there is no doubt they would have contributed the same when appealed to, whether being affiliated with the A. F. of L. or not.

After sixteen weeks of miserable support, and, consequently, great suffering on the part of the weavers and their families the strike was declared off by the weavers; and the loom fixers followed suit.

The spinners and carders remained out, but everyone knew it was only prolonging the struggle.

After the weavers had gone to work the spinners' secretary was sent to confer with melodramatic Sammy Go, the Honorable Pay Jay McGuire, and others of the tapeworm's Board of Superannuated Fakirs. The result of this conference was the issuing by these people of "call for aid" on behalf of the gallant dupes "still fighting labor's most righteous cause in New Bedford." Most generous and hearty was the response—FIFTEEN DOLLARS in cold, hard cash—at least that's all I have heard of; I challenge contradiction.

However, the agony was prolonged for four weeks—list, ye winds, to the final notes!—The treasury of the Spinners was busted; the much vaunted "bulwark of defence" was broken. The only thing to be done now was to go to work—if possible.

A conference with the manufacturers having been held with the object of securing each spinner his work back on condition that the strike be declared off, was a flat failure; in some instances the committee for the Spinners was laughed at. However, in spite of this, the crisis had to be met, and the strike WAS declared off after twenty weeks of assurances and promises from pretty near every labor fakir in the country, from Sammy Go down, or up, as one may prefer.

The strike was declared off on a Friday. The next Monday the Spinners presented themselves for work; in most instances they were not allowed in their rooms at all, but were told to wait on the steps. They were then taken as it suited the overseer's fancy and put to work.

About 35 per cent. were sent home and told to stay there until they were sent for, and they are sending for them and putting them to work just when, how and where they please, the Spinners consoling themselves by mumbling sotto voce, "There'll come a time some day."

A levy of 50 CENTS PER WEEK in addition to their regular dues of 50 CENTS A WEEK has been put on TO BUILD UP THEIR TREASURY AGAIN, for you must fight capital with capital, as Comrade Hickey has it.

In conclusion I may say there are some of the Spinners who will not get back at all, and in my opinion this strike has been one of the grandest means ever presented to demonstrate to the workers of the country the utter futility of organization on the lines presented by the pure and simple trades unions, and advocated as "true trade union lines" by that monumental piece of stupidity and concentrated extract of asinine verbosity—Samuel Gompers, president of the A. F. of L.

"MARVEL."

New Bedford, Mass., July 10.

Forebodings from Fall River.

To THE PEOPLE.—There's a chiel among you taking notes, and faith he'l print em—Burns.

FALL RIVER, Mass., July 12.—The following account about our local labor fakirs will surely be interesting:

For a while a silent member of the Fall River Weavers' Progressive Association (why they call it Progressive I don't know, perhaps Mr. Whitehead and the collectors could explain), yet keeping my eyes and ears open, I frequently noticed that whenever these officials required money to go away as delegates to conventions, etc., it was generally granted by the clique that attends our monthly business meetings. But should anyone propose to appropriate money out of the funds for any other purpose which would add prestige to the union or benefit the members as a body, these very same men at once spring to their feet and denounce such persons as enemies and traitors to the union for attempting anything of the kind.

This was notably so near the close of the New Bedford strike, when I moved a motion, seconded by Comrade Hawkins, to loan the New Bedford weavers $100, which we carried in spite of the opposition of Secretary Whitehead and some of the collectors.

To test the sincerity of these men or prove their hypocrisy, I, on my own responsibility, gave notice of a motion in writing which, if carried, would reduce the Secretary's and Collectors' wages ten per cent. Oh! what an outcry! What! reduce our wages! Oh, no! How impudent on my part to propose such a thing; it's all right for you who keep us to have your wages reduced with ours, oh no! never! The notice was rejected. The next monthly business meeting, June 12, I again gave in the written notice, which was committed to the waste paper basket. Thus was broken our constitution, as there is no rule that empowers them to do any such thing.

After this meeting I challenged Secretary Whitehead to defend his conduct through the press or on the public platform and then show cause why his wages should not be reduced exactly the same as ours had been. My letter appeared in the Fall River "Herald," to which he has not replied. Next move, I and Comrade Hawkins went before the committee to complain, and because Comrade Hawkins spoke rather snappingly to them, only about nine of them sprang on him like tigers, I thought they were going to eat him; he must have had something very sweet about him, for he seemed to attract them like loadstone. The committee (wild tigers) failing to scare us, the chief fakir, Secretary Whitehead, tried to scare me by asking me if I was aware that I had committed a criminal act in writing my challenge to him through the "Herald." To which I replied that if he could not answer me through the paper or meet me on the public platform that he could take any course he thought fit. Next day Mr. Whitehead found his only chance course by informing by letter Comrade Hawkins and myself that we were to attend on Friday, June 24, a special general meeting and show cause why we should not be expelled for unbecoming conduct. Just imagine these tigers as judges of conduct! The papers in the meantime had quite a number of false reports, such as "Trouble Breeders";"Socialists want to reduce wages"; "Socialists did not believe in good wages for everybody"—fancy! !

Secretaries and collectors of labor unions being everybody: what logic.

And yet the S. L. P. of Fall River had nothing whatever to do with it. Comrade Hawkins had only backed me in my right to give a notice in writing, the motion never yet having been discussed. But it shall be if I remain a member of them.

Well, we attended the meeting to hear our sentence of death. After a lot of wrangling and vague charges first by one and then another, we were ultimately called upon to defend ourselves in a ten minutes' speech. At the close of my defence Secretary Whitehead jumped to his feet, saying he would meet me there when he knew his chairman would not allow me to talk anymore.

Since then I again challenged the Secretary through three papers here, but as yet no reply from the chief fakir. The public will now know what to think of him.

It was quite amusing to see the fakirs, for when they saw our supporters outnumbered them they could not sit in their seats, but would stand and walk up and down the back of the room, raising all kinds of objections to our supporters as they came in the hall.

This is the bitterest pill that ever Whitehead and Co. had to take and probably not the last nor the most bitter. The previous question being moved, the vote was called for, and in order to expel us they wanted two-thirds majority, but, alas, we had a majority of 3 over them; viz., 66 for us and 63 against. Thus these fakirs first break the rules of the constitution to prevent a motion being discussed; they then try to scare us, and afterwards try to expel us in which they miserably and deservedly failed. How the matter will further develop remains to be seen. Of one thing we are quite sure; if they had expelled us, they would have been sorry, and we think that in the future they will be sorry that they did not.

Thus you see we are not dead in Fall River, nor are we sleeping. I may have cause to write on the matter again.

HENRY PROCTOR.

Fall River, Mass., July 12.

Who Can Answer this Washingtonian?

To THE PEOPLE.—Will you kindly instruct me in regard to the following questions?

Is there a Pianomakers' or Piano Tuners' Association in New York? If so, please send me their address.

How is the business in regard to piano tuning?

What are the conditions of the trade, particularly during the summer months?

What are the possibilities of obtaining a situation in my line in New York?

What are the usual wages paid piano tuners?

What is the average cost of living in New York?

In the shadow of the U. S. Treasury where untold millions of money are stored away, in a city teeming with wealth and every sign of prosperity, there are thousands of idle men and women who do not know where their daily bread is to come from.

There is no possibility of obtaining any kind of employment either governmental, municipal or industrial without influence or bribe, even the day laborer, yes the very street sweeper must have influence of some kind and pay a bribe out of his pitiful earnings to the influence that secured the job; the men pay the bribe in money, and the women are expected to pay ——

The little trade and business there was in this city has ceased almost entirely since the breaking out of this humanitarian (?) war, in fact, ever since McKinley's election it has been declining until almost all trade and business have stopped, and I have long ago arrived at the conclusion that when McKinley said, "There will be prosperity," he did not finish the sentence, but should have said: "There will be prosperity for the banker, broker and capitalist in general, for so it has been."

I hope you will excuse this long winded grcwl, but when a man has more idle time on hand than he knows what to do with, he very often runs around looking for trouble, and I wish I could make a little trouble for the powers that be.

A. E. WILD.

Washington, D. C., July 11.

A Card from Massachusetts State Library.

To THE PEOPLE.— The State Library of Massachusetts desires to obtain for permanent preservation for public reference all publications issued in the interest of any phase of the American labor movement, and to this end it will gratefully receive contributions or suggestions from the active promoters of the different movements or from the secretaries of labor organizations of any kind. It is our desire to represent as fairly and fully as possible the principles and purposes of those who lead the different phases of the movement.

C. B. TILLINGHAST.
State Librarian.

Boston Mass.

Echanges please copy.

Attention Rhode Island!

To THE PEOPLE.—Comrades in the towns of Newport, Warren, Bristol, Lonsdale, Burrillville and Centreville who can assist in arranging for open air agitation will please communicate with the undersigned secretary of the Speakers' Committee.

C. KROLL, 288 Pine street.

Providence, R. I., July 10.

A Card on "Appeal to Reason."

To THE PEOPLE.—In explanation to such readers of THE PEOPLE as may have seen the last few numbers of the "Appeal to Reason," I wish to say that the letter I sent to Mr. Wayland, who is personally known to me, was not one of "condemnation" but of CHALLENGE. I asked him to prefer charges, if he were still a member of the party, or if not, to show me his proof, and I would prefer charges myself.

The only answer to this, was a five-line paragraph acknowledging receipt of the letter, and a similar one from a comrade in Tiffin, Ohio (who I know has also supported the "Appeal"), saying that "others are expected, but the "Appeal" will not fill itself with them."

If there is any "condemnation" it is of Mr. Wayland's own making.

His paper will doubtless be the official organ of the Social Democratic party of Mr. Debs et al.

GARNET FUTVOYE.

Kansas City, Mo., July 5.

Good Work in Chicago.

To THE PEOPLE.—I was on a visit to Chicago during the 2d, 3d and 4th of this month. I attended an outdoor meeting at Sixty-third and Halsted streets; there were about 75 or 100 people there; the meeting was very interesting, the audience putting all sorts of questions after the speaking. I was delighted at the pluck, the enthusiasm and the aggressiveness displayed by these comrades; it was great. Comrades B. Berlyn, Becker and Wanhop spoke at that meeting. Comrade Wanhop will make an excellent speaker if he keeps on.

J. FRANSSEN.

Genoa, Ill., July 10.

16th N. Y. Assembly District.

To THE PEOPLE.—It is a fact that all eyes will be turned upon the 16th A. D. in the coming campaign. To be successful we will have to unfold a strong agitation in the coming election.

Such campaign, as you know, requires a large fund. The Young Men's Socialist Educational Club will hold a picnic and summer-night's festival on Saturday, July 23d, at Cypress Hill Park, Ridgewood, L. I., in order to gather such fund.

All comrades who wish to contribute their mite towards helping us can do so on this occasion.

Come one, come all to this picnic, so that we may be able to derive a large income of the affair, in order to have enough financial means to carry on our coming campaign successfully.

Tickets can be procured at the N. Y. Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street, New York, Brooklyn Labor Lyceum, 495 Willoughby avenue, Club House of the Young Men's Socialist Educational Club, 98 Avenue C.

S. GROSS, Sec'y.

New York, July 12.

Items from Minneapolis.

MINNEAPOLIS, June 27.—The following comrades have been elected to compose the State Committee for the coming year: Hammond, Potter, Spettel, H. T. Shaw, Van Mill, Sam. Johnson and Stubee. Algernon Lee was re-elected State Secretary.

The officers of Section Minneapolis for the next six months are as follows: Organizer, Lee; Recording Secretary, Hammond; Financial Secretary, Stubee; Treasurer, Miss Florence Lee; Literary Agent, Miss Mabel Knappen.

Comrade Hammond is our candidate for governor. For Congressman from the Fifth District we have nominated Dr. A. Hirschfield. The municipal ticket in Minneapolis is as follows: For Mayor, Frank A. Malmquist, grocer; for Alderman, Third Ward, Sam Williamson, carpenter; Sixth Ward, J. W. Johnson, lather; Seventh Ward, Peter Onsum; Ninth Ward, Christian Jacobson; Tenth Ward, Henry Gerdau, carpenter; Eleventh Ward, Henning Stubee, carpenter; Thirteenth Ward, J. A. Johnson, milkman.

The fourth (St. Paul) district will have a candidate for Congress. And, as already reported in THE PEOPLE, the sixth district comrades have nominated Ed. Krig to disturb the peace of mind of Towne and Page Morris.

The utter demoralization of the Populists will give the S. L. P. a good chance, which we shall do our best to improve.

A. LEE.

Minneapolis, July 9.

LETTER BOX.

Off-hand Answers to Correspondents.

[No questions will be considered that come in anonymous letters. All letters must carry a bona fide signature and address.]

"JOHN J.," LOUISVILLE, KY.—How would you feel towards the man who were to ask you for the difference between a soft-shall crab and one of your own Blue Grass State stallions? That's the way you make us feel when you ask for the difference between the Social Democracy and the Socialist Labor party. Invest in THE PEOPLE from June, 1897, to June, 1898.

E. W. B., NORWICH, CONN.—1. To give you the names of the Socialist Labor party's "leaders," you will first have to define the word "leader." In comon parlance, the term "leader" in a political party means "Boss." Such we have not and cannot have.

2. "Revolution" is a stage of "evolution." The birth of a child, for instance, is a revolutionary epoch of nine months of evolutionary process; the detonation or explosion that takes place when a match is touched to gun powder is merely a revolutionary point in the evolution of gases from the original solid. He who says "revolution" implies, if he knows what he is talking about, "evolution"; and he who says "evolution" implies "revolution," unless he recoils before logical and natural results. The making of a distinction between the two words is typical of the "reform" mind. You will never see it made elsewhere.

3. The S. L. P. has a platform which is the result of solid experience. A passage in that platform tears the mask of capitalist false pretences by taking a stand against municipalization, for instance, that does not go expressly hand in hand with the right of the employés to elect their superior officers, establish regulations and earn higher incomes. Any proposition for "municipalization" without such provisions, whether it come from the "Citizens' Union" or any other body, will be opposed by the S. L. P. as either an intentional or unintentional scheme to promote capitalism, and with it the degradation of the wage slave.

If it be an intentional scheme, it will fail with us: the S. L. P. is too experienced to be caught by bait; if it be unintentional, it will likewise fail: the S. L. P. is too experienced to fall into blunders.

4. We do not share your conclusion that the "Socialist" articles in the New York paper you speak of are "intended to prepare the public for the reception of Socialist theories"; that is not its purpose, anymore than it was the purpose of Richard II to "prepare the feudal Lords of England for the reception of the revolutionary theories of Jack Cade" when he, Richard II, smiled on Cade and his followers, declaring it the pride of his life if they took him for their leader. History teaches a profound lesson by that incident, when it describes the execution of Cade and his followers that resulted from that "preparation of the feudal Lords of England for the reception of Cade's theories."

E. G. E., CHARLESTON, S. C.—You have wasted your time, paper and ink, besides postage, in your "essay against abusive language." It is all superfluous. No decent man need be argued with against "abusive language." You would have employed your time to better purpose if you had quoted the "abusive passages"; then there would have been a chance for mutual understanding. Kindly quote. In the meantime we'll tell you what our experience is; People call "abusive" our hits on their pets; while our hits on those who are not their pets they call "cogent reasoning."

A. H. K., COLUMBUS, O.—Your resignation to the war on the ground that "Socialism, in the United States, doubtless is retarded by the war, but international Socialism is thereby accelerated," is very much of the resignation of the man who broke one leg in a railroad accident and consoled himself with the thought that he might have broken both. Overwhelming areas of our globe are, more or less like Spain, yet beyond the elemental reach of Socialism; this earth will be burned out long before Socialism is established if its path is first via the bringing in all such tracts of territory within the elemental tackles of Socialism. There is now a sufficient number of States ripe for Socialism; the Social revolution in these would bring the rest of the globe under Socialist sway infinitely more speedily than on the present way of conquest.

A. J. H., NEW BEDFORD, MASS.—The business of a Local Alliance of a trade differs from the business of a corresponding pure and simple organization, not by the injection of S. L. P. politics, but by the expurgation of capitalist economics. In a pure and simple trade union, the members are class-unconscious; consequently the reforms or changes they look to and consider are capitalistic and harmful to labor: they will consider the tariff, the finance question, taxation, "municipalization," etc., etc. As a result of that they fall within the atmosphere of capitalist politics that split them up. On the other hand, in the S. T. & L. A. organizations the members are held to a class-conscious understanding of their interests; they are to be held down to the premises that, under the capitalist system, the share of wealth the worker receives, i. e., his wages, depends on nothing else than the price of merchandise, and the law of supply and demand. Firmly planted on that, they can't be lured into issues that do not affect the basis of capitalism; consequently they stick close together and fall within the atmosphere of S. L. P. or class-conscious Labor politics, that demand the abolition of the wage system. For the rest, the business routine of Alliance Locals is identical with that of other trades unions: they are purely economic and concern themselves with economic palliatives.

H. A. G., PITTSBURGH, PA.—You misapprehend our criticisms of "Debsism." We do not "take it seriously" at all. We utilise it only as a "book of errors" is utilized to teach the right grammar and spelling by. As such it has afforded rare opportunities, and we availed ourselves thereof.

WAGON MISSION OF THE C. C., LAPORTE, IND.—We decline to co-operate in aiding you to collect funds for your "Mission." The literature you distribute is not educational but confusional.

C. L., DAYTON, O.—We don't know and can't find any satisfactory etymological origin for the word "Jingo." As to its history, it is said to have come in vogue in England during the Crimean war in a doggerel that ran somewhat like this:

We don't care to fight, but, by JINGO, if we do,
We have the men, we have ships, we have the money too.

Its appearance in an oath or exclamation makes it likely that its etymological origin is purely whimsical. The word has to-day finally obtained in English the meaning of the French "Chauvin," meaning a "patriot" in the narrow, ignorant and barbaric meaning of the term.

F. M., DEDHAM, MASS.—The taking up of "The Eighteenth Brumaire" as a text book for a regular course of education by a Section is certainly a wise step. The book cannot be studied through without rendering the student a new man. Once carefully studied, the floor of the student's mind must be littered with dead cockroaches, dust and cobwebs that can be easily swept off, leaving the mind clean. While the work does not deal with theoretic economics, it deals with tactics and the philosophy of tactics. This is of much importance in these days.

L. P. T., CHICAGO, ILL.—Give an instance. We know of no instance in which we have "abused" Mr. Debs. The only instance we know of, when a concrete charge of this sort was made, was furnished by the San Francisco, Cal., German paper, the "Tageblatt," where a reference in this column to the "Social Democrats" as "idiosyncrasies" was translated as "idiots." For the weakness of the "Tageblatt's" editor in the English language THE PEOPLE is not responsible.

"FRIENDLY," CHICAGO, ILL.—You give us no information when you simply say that we "divide you up." You should tell us who it is we divide away from you. To cause a "division" is not in itself good or bad. It is bad when valuable elements are caused to split up; it is good when useless ones are winnowed away. Is it not a Biblical prophecy for good that "the chaff shall be winnowed from the corn," and "the goats be separated from the sheep?" A little more accuracy of expression is desirable.

B. F. K., MARION, IND.—1. A Kansas law ordered the 8-hour day on municipal and State work; this was violated by the County Commissioners of Marshall County; a workman—S. C. Billingsley—brought suit for excess of time; the court decided that if there was a violation the workingman was accessory to a crime and non-suited him. The Populist Convention meeting right upon that commended ALL the Populist officials. The whole matter is fully treated in THE PEOPLE of Jan. 30, of this year.

2. Peffer was one of the Senate Commissioners to investigate the Homestead strike. The decision was that "a boycott is an illegal interference with the rights of an employer," and where arbitration fails the strong arm of the country may be rightly invoked to "preserve order."

W. F. D., FULTONVILLE, N. Y.—The price of the London "Justice" is 6 shillings 6 pence a year, 37A, Clerkenwell Green, E. C. Don't know the rates of "Clarion"; inquire at "Justice."

"INQUIRER," N. Y.—What you call "bossism" is not bossism at all, but rudeness. If we don't all make an effort to be accurate in our expressions we shall get dreadfully tangled up. Leave a confused terminology to those whose object is to confuse; you surely don't train with them.

"E.," BUFFALO, N. Y.—He who wants war will get all the war he wants. And they'll find out.

D. D. L., BOSTON, MASS.—That may all be so, but does not alter essential facts. The Socialist Commonwealth may, probably will not come about but as a result of a long chain of minor changes. But that does not overthrow the party's tactics nor does it dignify the "reformer." If "reforms" are to do any good; if, indeed, they are to be links in that long chain the last of which will be Socialism, they can be all that only by reason of the existence of a political party, inside of Congress and the State Legislatures, that will constantly keep up the final goal in public view, and thereby prevent the "reforms" from being loose, disconnected, barren links. The only good that there may be in "reforms" can be extracted from them only by the Socialist Labor party Congressmen and officials.

B. C. W., LINCOLN, NEB.—The first great result of this war will be a commercial, industrial and financial crisis that will take the shine off all preceding ones. Get ready.



THIRD ANNUAL CONVENTION OF THE S. T. & L. A.

FIRST DAY.

On July 4, at 10 a. m., the Third Annual Convention of the S. T. & L. A. was called to order by the General Secretary, Ernest Bohm; the convention continued in session till the 7th, at 7 p.-m.

Lucien Sanial and Martha M. Avery were chosen temporary officers, and subsequently were made permanent for the day. While the Credentials Committee was out the Buffalo Liedertafel sang a song.

The Credentials Committee (Leehr, Muhlenhausen and Schlossberg) reported credentials from 31 organizations, and a protest from the Karl Sahm Club (Central Labor Federation) against Delegate Krinks, of Musical Union No. 1028 (D. A. 49); protest was also raised by Pressmen's Feeders' Union against Schlossberg (Publishing Association). The 29 delegates not protested against were seated.

De Leon (D. A. 49) moved that Krinks be seated; Morgan (Chicago D. A. 11) amended that Krinks be seated without a vote; General Secretary Bohm (C. L. F.) counted the votes and announced 13 for and 11 against the amendment; De Leon demanded a recount, and the vote stood 13 to 13; De Leon then demanded a roll call, and the amendment was defeated by 14 for, 16 against. Krinks was then seated. A special committee on Schlossberg reported favorably on his being seated, and was concurred in.

As thus constituted, the convention consisted of the following delegates:

Martha Moore Avery, S. L. P.; Henry Kuhn, Section New York, and B. Reinstein, Section Buffalo, S. L. P.

Sixteen delegates from D. A. 1 (C. L. F. of N. Y.) and affiliated Locals, Ernest Bohm, John Leehr, H. Wohl, G. Mühlenhausen, A. Waldinger, L. Sanial, Schwertel, H. Goodman, H. Miller, P. Rassmussen, A. Frey, E. Lippelgoos, H. Rubin, R. Dorfman, F. Leetch, W. Lengbart.

Two delegates from D. A. 2 (United Hebrew Trades, N. Y.) and affiliated Locals, Bondin, J. Schlessberg.

One delegate from D. A. 8 (Independent Bakers, Boston), H. Wehner.

One delegate from D. A. 11 (Chicago), Thos. J. Morgan.

One delegate from D. A. 12 (Philadelphia), M. Keller.

Three delegates from D. A. 49 (N. Y.) and affiliated Locals: Daniel De Leon, S. Krinks, Samuel Hoffman.

Three delegates from Buffalo: B. Reinstein, F. Enquist, M. Weber, E. Engelhart.

One delegate from Albany, J. E. Alexander.

A Committee on Rules (Morgan, Rubin, Keller) reported. De Leon (D. A. 49) moved to add to the rules that, before proceeding to business, each organization report upon its standing, work and experience. Morgan (Chicago D. A. 11) objected on the ground that in all his experience of 27 years in legislative bodies such a proceeding was unheard of; De Leon held that the precedent established by the S. L. P. was superior to that of legislative bodies; Delegates Avery, Kuhn, Weber, Reinstein, Alexander spoke in the same vein. The rules with the amendment were adopted.

The following standing committees were adopted:

Finance and Ways and Means: Leetch, Weber, Hoffman.

Grievances: Dorfman, Morgan, Alexander.

Law and Constitution: De Leon, Wehner, Weber, Keller, Krinks.

State of Organization: Waldinger, Engelhart, Goodman.

Resolutions: Sanial, Avery, Muhlenhausen, Morgan, Rubin.

Thus constituted the convention adjourned for the day to attend the picnic tendered by Section Buffalo.

SECOND DAY.

July 5—The second day was taken up with the reports of organizations, throwing much light upon the status of the Alliance in the localities represented.

Congratulatory messages were received from D. A. 2, N. Y.; Cloakmakers, Chicago; Progressive Typos, N. Y.; Pressmen and Feeders, N. Y.; Lithographers, N. Y.; Section Lynn, Mass.; German Waiters, N. Y.; S. L. P. mass meeting, Boston Common.

THIRD DAY.

July 6—Report of organizations continued and closed.

Grievance Committee reported:

On grievances of Hartenders vs. Workmen's Educational Club, N. Y., recommending that the matter be referred to Section N. Y. Concurred in, and motion adopted that convention recommend to members of the Alliance to join the S. L. P. in their respective localities.

On grievance of L. A. 1028 (Musical Union) against Carl Sahm Club, demanding that the latter sever its connection with the Musical Protective Union, committee reported adversely. Concurred in.

In matter of the appeal of Waiters' Alliance Liberty to broaden the field of the organization, the appeal was not sustained, but the C. L. F. is requested to bring about an amalgamation of the Waiters' Alliance and the German Waiters. Concurred in.

Finance Committee: From July 4, 1897, to July 4, 1898, receipts, $680.71; disbursements, $588.09; balance on hand, $92.62.

The G. E. B. is empowered to refund its members' expenses incurred in attending meetings.

FOURTH DAY.

July 7—1. Resolution on label: Resolved, that each Local be allowed to adopt its own label, subject to endorsement by G. E. B. Adopted.

2. Resolution on grievance of Pressmen and Feeders vs. Arbeiterzeitung Publishing Association: Resolved, that the convention ask the National Ex. of the S. L. P. to use its influence to have the Association employ members of the union. Concurred in.

3. Election of officers.

General Secretary E. Bohm nominated; De Leon (D. A. 49) inquired from Bohm whether, in case the finances of the Alliance will permit to give him a living salary, he will disconnect from his several other secretaryships, that now engage his time to the detriment of Alliance work, and whether he will disconnect himself from his other private business pursuits; Morgan (D. A. 11, Chicago) protested against such questions being put; Chair ruled Bohm may answer if he wants; Bohm refused to answer. On vote, electing Bohm, De Leon votes "No," and demands to go on record as so voting.

Financial Secretary, Waldinger, nominated and elected.

General Executive Board: Vogt, Muhlenhausen, F. Wilson, G. Luck, L. Boudin, S. Hoffman, B. Korn.

4. Resolution that G. E. B. in cooperation with National Executive of S. L. P. establish relations with Socialist parties and Socialist trade organizations of other countries to exchange information and to have such organizations issue calls to workers who emigrate to the United States. Amended that articles be furnished to the Socialist press of other countries. Resolution, as amended, adopted.

5. Resolution that G. E. B. in cooperation with N. E. of S. L. P. issue addresses on Spanish war and matters that flow from it. Carried.

6. Resolutions urging engineers who are members of the S. L. P. to join the union. Referred to G. E. B.

7. Resolution urging members of the S. L. P. to organize Local Alliances. Carried.

8. Resolution that incoming G. E. B. adopt ways and means to organize the brewing industry of Greater New York under jurisdiction of Ale & Porter Brewers, and wherever central bodies of the S. T. & L. A. exist such body be held to organize the brewing industry.

9. Alliance organizations shall hold festivals only in such places as employ union help all year round, or stand suspended.

10. Boycott of Le Roy cigarette made by Miller & Sons. Endorsed.

11. That an organizer be secured for Tailors No. 11. Referred to G. E. B.

12. Protest of Arbeiterzeitung against organizing L. A. 83. Endorsed.

The following amendments to the constitution, referred to the Law Committee, were adopted:

1. The G. E. B. shall declare vacant the seat of any of its members who is absent at three consecutive sessions without written excuse, or the charter of whose organization shall have been revoked.

2. A National Board of Appeals and Grievances shall be created. Philadelphia was chosen the seat thereof.

3. Appeals from the G. E. B. must be handed in to General Secretary within four weeks of rendering decision.

4. Every L. A. must belong to a mixed D. A., even if it belongs to a national trade alliance.

5. Delegates to the National Convention must have been members of Alliance at least three months, except delegates from the S. L. P.

The following amendments to the constitution were reported favorably by the Committee on Law and Constitution, with the recommendation that they be sent to a referendum vote of the L. A.'s:

1. A quarterly mileage assessment of one cent er capita of the membership shall be levied for the purpose of equalizing the railroad expenses of delegates to the S. T. & L. A. conventions.

2. Shall the conventions be held annually or biennially? shall they be held on July 4, or on the third Monday of September?

3. The dues payable to the G. E. B. shall be 1 cent per capita per month.

4. Representation at conventions shall be one delegate from every D. A., and one additional delegate for every 500 members affiliated with it.

5. Shall it be mandatory upon each L. A. to furnish each member with an S. L. P. or S. T. & L. A. paper of his or her language? This shall be declared carried only if four-fifths of the L. A.'s approve it.

The following amendments to the constitution were reported ADVERSELY by the Committee on Law and Constitution; but, the committee's recommendation not being concurred in, they were sent to a referendum vote of Locals upon motion of the committee:

1. Not more than one Mixed Alliance to be affiliated with any D. A.

2. No central body or D. A. shall have the right to organize a trade which is represented in another such body of the same locality without a written and sealed permission of such body.

On the above seven propositions to refer to a general vote, Delegates Bohm, Waldinger, Rubin and others of the C. L. F. (D. A. 1, New York) together with Delegate Morgan (D. A. 11, Chicago), objected on the grounds that it was an attempt of the minority to have a second show, and on the further ground that at the first convention of the S. T. & L. A. their proposition for a referendum was rejected. On behalf of the Committee on Law and Constitution, which demanded the referendum, it was argued:

1. That the referendum would have been superfluous at the first convention because the whole Alliance was there represented; there was nothing on the outside to refer to; while at this convention, owing to the defective method of representation, that the committee sought to change, and to the convention being held in Buffalo, the bulk of the Alliance was not represented, and should be consulted on matters affecting the constitution.

2. That the propositions reported adversely by the committee could have no purport other than to cripple D. A. 49 by interfering with its notedly successful work of agitation, and that seeing that D. A. 49, just because it had spent the money in agitation, had little left to send delegates, and had only three representatives in the convention, while D. A. 1, having kept its money, had, together with Delegate Morgan, of Chicago, virtually the majority of all the delegates, it was unfair to allow one D. A. to dwarf the whole Alliance in the exclusive interest of such D. A.

The motions to refer were carried by narrow margins, Delegate Morgan alone of all the outside of New York representatives voting with those of D. A. 1, who opposed.

Further congratulatory messages were received from the Women's Educational Association, N. Y.; Empire City Lodge, N. Y.; Executive Board of Ale & Porter; Secretary C. L. F.

At 7 p. m., July 7, the convention adjourned sine die, after being addressed by Delegates Martha M. Avery and Thos. J. Morgan.

Attention!

To the members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of New York and vicinity:

We, the undersigned, consider it our duty to make known to you that we have sent the following letter to the General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A.:

"To the General Executive Board of the S. T. & L. A.—

"The circumstances attending the recent convention of the Alliance make it impossible for the undersigned to sit in the General Executive Board together with some of the officers-elect. This declination, and the reasons therefor, will be submitted to a joint meeting of the District Alliances of New York and Vicinity, the calling of which we hereby demand in accordance with Article V. Sec. 5.

"We consider the holding of such joint meeting so necessary for the welfare of the Alliance that we hereby notify you that, in case the Board unconstitutionally refuse to call such joint meeting, the undersigned themselves will issue a call for the joint meeting.

"We request to be notified forthwith of the action that may be taken by the Board.—Hugo Vogt, Samuel Hoffman."

"Dated, New York, July 11, 1898."

Our purpose in making the above public is to prepare the membership of the Alliance for the joint meeting of the Districts, and to insure such a large attendance at said meeting as the welfare of our movement requires.

HUGO VOGT,
SAMUEL HOFFMAN,

SOCIALIST POLICY.

(Continued from Page 1.)

ern without any concentration of either Right or Left. (Laughter on diverse benches.) It is a policy of immobility, because the day when they would come out of that immobility it would be necessary to go with the Right and Meline, or with the Left and Bourgeois. Between these two alternatives you cannot do anything except maintain yourselves, for a few weeks, a few months, by deceiving the parties from which you will seem successively to derive your support. (Applause on the Extreme Left.)

NECESSARY REFORMS.

Leaving aside that sort of policy, we arrive at the only one which can possibly be presented to this Chamber with any chance of success: I mean a policy of the Left. It is not for the Socialist party to dictate a platform of government, but it has a right to point out some of the reforms that have been pointed out to the attention of the future legislator, during the last electoral campaign.

First, there is a series of electoral measures purporting to assure the liberty and honesty of the ballot—(applause on the Extreme Left and on diverse benches on the Left)—to put an end to electoral and patronal brigandages—(new applause on the same benches)—and prevent the recurring of the painful spectacle of those miners of Calais, and of the weavers of Roubaix—men conducted to the polls under the vigilant care of their employers. (Great applause on the same benches of the Left; interruptions and noise on diverse benches on the Center and Right.)

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE.

If you wish truly to establish and insure political liberty you must begin to establish economic independence. (Very well! Very well! on the Extreme Left.) When men have grown old consecrating their lives to the service of society, is it too much for society to assure them the right of life—(applause on the Extreme Left)—not by one of those projects of laws hastily drafted by some Minister, in order to cast into oblivion bloody remembrances—(diverse movements)—or to give apparent satisfaction; but by a project well considered and well matured?

We have introduced, and we sustain, such a bill; we will re-introduce it; and we have the confidence that a Ministry of the Left will at least accept its essential principles. (Very well! on the Extreme Left.)

Do I need to recall the laws on the conditions and duration of labor, on the hygienic condition of the shops which awaits a definitive vote? Does not national labor and production demand prompt alleviation of the burdens that are becoming intolerable?—alleviation of military charges by a two-years' service—(applause on the Extreme Left and diverse benches of the Left; noise on the Center and Left)—demanded already in 1871 by General Faidherbe, and alleviation of the fiscal taxes?

THE ATTITUDE OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

As far as we are concerned, we have only one aim in raising this discussion: it is to indicate clearly to the Chamber and to the country what our attitude will be before the issues I have enumerated.

Republicans, above all, we will combat with the last energy the policy of the Right which is treason to Democracy. (Great applause on the Extreme Left and diverse benches on the Left.)

Neither will we accept a Middle-of-the-Road policy, which would be the beginning of a series of deceptions—(Very well! Very well!)—and we are not embarrassed in the least to promise unconditionally our support to a Ministry of the Left which will affirm its sincere will to undertake REPUBLICAN reforms. (Very well! Very well! on the same benches.)

In fact, it is not of the excess of the evil, but of continuous reforms that we await the triumph of our ideas. (Very well! Very well! on the Extreme Left and diverse benches on the Left.)

We have been sent here by our constituents to accomplish Republican and Socialist work. We have taken our position; marked our frontiers; indicated our line of conduct; and before the country which judges us we will exercise in this Republican task our part of labor and responsibility. We have done our duty. Do yours. (Great applause, repeated on the Extreme Left and diverse benches of the Left, the orator returning to his seat, receives the congratulations of his friends.)

THE DAILY PEOPLE

$50,000 FUND.

Amount Pledged down to July 13th, 1898.

$4,575.

☞ **Pledgers will please keep in mind the dates on which their payments fall due, as pe printed list, and remit promptly. If any error appears on the list, correct with equal promptness.**

THE DAILY PEOPLE COMMITTEE.
184 William St., N. Y.

OFFICIAL.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary Henry Kuhn, 184 William street, N. Y.
NATIONAL BOARD OF APPEALS — Secretary Robert Bandlow, 193 Champlain St., Cleveland, O.

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF CANADA.
NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE—Secretary. George Moore, 61 Ryde St., Montreal.

NOTICE.—For technical reasons, no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesdays, 10 p. m.

A Call.

The Sections of the S. L. P., located within the territory of Greater New York, are hereby called upon to make nominations for two members of the National Executive Committee, in place of Comrades Thomas A. Hickey and Charles G. Teche, who have resigned, the former because he is constantly on the road; the latter because he is going to Europe for several months. Organizers of Sections should submit this matter to their respective Sections at the next regular meeting and report the nominations made to the undersigned not later than Saturday, July 16, 1898, after which day the nominations will be submitted to a vote of the foregoing Sections.

By order of the National Executive Committee, S. L. P.

HENRY KUHN, Secy.

National Executive Committee.

Session of June 28th. Comrade Stahl in the chair. Absent, Murphy and Brown, the latter excused. Financial report for week ending June 25th: receipts, $80.92; expenditures, $193.65; deficit for the week, $112.76. The general vote on the delegate to the convention of the S. T. & L. A., which closed on the 28th was then compiled and showed the following result: Avery, 553 votes; Keep, 418 votes; Morgan, 543 votes. Mrs. Avery was declared elected and the secretary instructed to notify the three candidates of the result of the vote. A manuscript for a pamphlet was referred to a committee of two for examination. Cigarmakers' Union No. 90 sent an invitation asking that the National Executive Committee be represented at a meeting of the Union to be held Sunday, July 3rd. Comrades Kuhn, Vogt and De Leon were appointed the committee. Comrade Thomas A. Hickey, who is to be out on the road a good deal and cannot for that reason attend the sessions of the National Executive Committee, and Comrade Charles G. Teche, who is about to go to Europe for a stay of four months, both resigned as members of the National Executive Committee. The secretary was instructed to issue a call for nominations to fill the vacancies. Section Louisville, Ky., reported the expulsion of Anton Frankenberger. The committee which had been appointed to examine into certain objections against the monograph on the movement in Germany, written for the Almanach, made their report, recommending some changes, but on the whole reporting the monograph to be correct. Report received and adopted. Charters were granted to new sections in: Loyalhanna, Pa.; Ychoghany, Pa.; Cecil, Pa.; Bishop, Pa.; Newport, Ky.; Richmond, Ind. Section Luzerne, Pa., was reported re-organized.

L. A. MALKIEL,
Recording Sec'y.

General Agitation Fund.

Previously acknowledged	$503.08
Section, Louisville, Ky., per B. F. Keinard	10.00
Indiana State Committee, per B. F. Keinard	25.00
C. E. Thompson, New York City	50
Pennsylvania State Committee, per T. A. Hickey	25.00
Total	$563.58

HENRY KUHN, Sec'y.

Kansas.

THE TICKET.
Governor—Caleb Lipscomb, Fort Scott.
Lieut. Governor—N. B. Arnold, Topeka.
Associate Justice—A. A. Carnahan, Concordia.
Attorney General—W. L. Rose, Wichita.
State Auditor—E. A. Cain, Cherokee.
Secretary of State—D. O'Donnell, Frontenac.
State Treasurer—W. H. Wright, Miltonville.
State Superintendent—Etta Semple, Ottawa.
Congressman-at-Large—F. E. Miller, De Soto.

Massachusetts.

SOMERVILLE, July 10.—A meeting of the Somerville Section will be held July 19th, Room 27, Hill Building, Union Square. Important business.

To the Sections and Members of the S. L. P. of Boston.

Comrades:—You are respectfully requested to attend the joint meeting of the party, Thursday, July 19th, 1898, 8 P. M., at Phoenix Hall, 724 Washington street, for the purpose of taking final action on the question of reorganizing the city of Boston into one section with ward branches, to nominate candidates for city offices and transact such other business as may properly come before it.

By order of the City Committee.
DAVID GOLDSTEIN, Sec'y.

A reunion of the Karl Marx Classes of Boston and Worcester will take place in South Framingham on Sunday, July 31st. The meeting place at South Framingham is the R. R. Station. Comrades and friends of Boston and vicinity have arranged to go by electric cars over the boulevard road, leaving 571 Columbus avenue at 9 o'clock A. M. sharp.

A lunch basket may be a necessity.

A programme is being arranged.

MARTHA MOORE AVERY, Director.

Michigan.

DETROIT, July 12.—Comrades and sections in Michigan take notice that the State Convention, which was postponed, will be held on July 30th, at 3 P. M., in Finnette's Hall, cor. Rivard and Catherine streets, Detroit.

M. MEYER, Sec'y.

Missouri.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., July 12.—The Ward Clubs of the Tenth Congressional District of St. Louis, Mo., will hold a codvention to nominate a candidate for Congress, Tuesday, July 19th, 8 P. M., at Wacht am Rhine Hall, Broadway and Lami streets.

New York.

To the Assembly Districts, Wards and Branches of Section Greater New York, S. L. P.

Comrades:—You are hereby called upon to elect new delegates to the next meeting of the General Committee for the ensuing six months. According to the By-Laws just adopted, each subdivision is entitled to one delegate and an additional delegate for every 20 members in good standing or major fraction thereof. Those subdivisions who were represented by new delegates at the last meeting of the General Committee need not elect others.

For the City Executive Committee,
L. ABELSON, Organizer.

To all Branches of Section Greater New York:

The members of the 34th and 25th Assembly Districts Branch send you a challenge to play a game of base ball for a prize, at their picnic at Prince's Picnic Grove, 226th street and Kings Bridge Road, Sunday, July 31st. All communications should be addressed to J. J. Kinneally, 797 East 138th st.

Buffalo Socialists, Attention!

A primary of the Socialist Labor party for the purpose of electing delegates to the New York State Convention of the Socialist Labor party will be held in the Buffalo Labor Lyceum, 676 Genesee street, near Monroe, Thursday, July 28th, at 1 P. M. sharp.

By order of Section Buffalo S. L. P.,
B. REINSTEIN.

Sunday, July 17, at 8 P. M., the American Branch of Section Buffalo, S. L. P., will hold a public discussion meeting in the new Labor Lyceum, 676 Genesee street, near Monroe. Subject: "Can Socialism be established in a single isolated country?"

Rhode Island.

The regular half-yearly meeting of Section Providence will be held in Textile Hall, Olneyville, July 29th, at 8 p. m., to hear report of officers, to elect State Committee, and for any other business pertaining to the Section.

E. SHERWOOD, Secretary.

S. L. P. Supplies.

Constitutions in English, German and Polish (with platform)	50c. per 100
Constitution in Jewish (without platform)	40c. per 100
Due Cards	40c. per 100
Application Cards	40c. per 100
Emblem Buttons (stud or pin) per dozen	25c.
Metal emblem pins (gilt) per doz.	30c.

When ordering supplies, enclose the cash: it takes time to keep credit accounts, send out bills (perhaps a number of times before collection is made), and all this time, postage and effort may be employed to a better purpose.

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Office hours: Monday and Friday, 1—5 o'clock P. M.—Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday and Saturday, 8—12 A. M. and 1—5.30 P. M. 341

Trades and Societies Calendar.

Standing advertisements of Trades Unions and other Societies (not exceeding five lines) will be inserted under this heading hereafter at the rate of $5.00 per annum.

Organizations should not lose such an opportunity of advertising their places of meeting.

Carl Sahm Club (Musicians Union. Meetings every Tuesday at 10 a. m., at 64 East 4th street, New York Labor Lyceum. Business Secretary: Frei. 99

Central Labor Federation of New York (S. T. & L. A., D. A. No. 1). Meets at 2.30 every Sunday afternoon at 64 East 4th street, New York City. All bona-fide trade and labor Unions should be represented. Communications are to be sent to the corresponding Secretary, Ernest Bohm, 64 East 4th street, New York City. 99

Cigarmakers' Progressive International Union No. 90. Office and Employment Bureau: 64 East 4th street.—District I (Bohemian), 324 East 71st street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District II (German), at 213 Forsyth St., meets every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District III, meets at 1527 avenue A, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—District IV, meets at 342 West 42nd street, every Saturday at 8 p. m.—The Board of Supervisors meets every Tuesday at 1422 2nd avenue, at 8 p. m. 99

Empire City Lodge (Machinists), meets every 2d and 4th Wednesday evening at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East 4th street.
273 Secretary: PETER STAPLE.

German Waiters' Union of New York, Office: 385 Bowery, Union Hall, 1st floor. Meetings every Friday at 4 p. m. Board of Supervisors meets every Wednesday at 4 p. m., at the same hall. 304

Musical Protective Alliance No. 1028, D. A. 49, S. T. & L. A., Headquarters 79 E. 4th street. Meetings every Friday at 10 o'clock noon. Fred. Hartmann, Pres.; Fred. Woll, corr. Sec'y, 79 E. 4th St. J. S. Krings, Business agent. 341

Metal Spinners Union of New York and Vicinity meets every second and last Friday in the month at 8½ o'clock at
231-233 E. 33d Street. 338

Section Essex County, S. L. P., meets the first Sunday in each month at 8 p. m. in the hall of "Essex County Socialist Club," 76 Springfield Ave., Newark, N. J. 189

Skandinavian Section, S. L. P. Meets 2nd and 4th Sunday of every month at 10.30 o'clock a.m., at Teutonia Assembly Rooms, 158—160 3. Ave., New York City. Subscription orders taken for the Scand. Socialist Weekly, SCAND. AM. ARBETAREN.

Socialist Science Club, S. L. P., 34th 35th A. D. S. E. Cor. of 3d Av. and 149th St. Open every evening. Regular business meeting every Friday.

Progressive Clothing Cutters & Trimmers Union, L. A. 68 of S. T. & L. A.—Headquarters, 64 East 4th street, Labor Lyceum.—Regular meeting every Thursday evening, at 8 P. M. 303

The Socialist Educational Society of Yorkville meets every Monday evening at 206 E. 86th St. This Society aims to educate its members to a thorough knowledge of Socialism by means of discussions and debates. Come and join. 341

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